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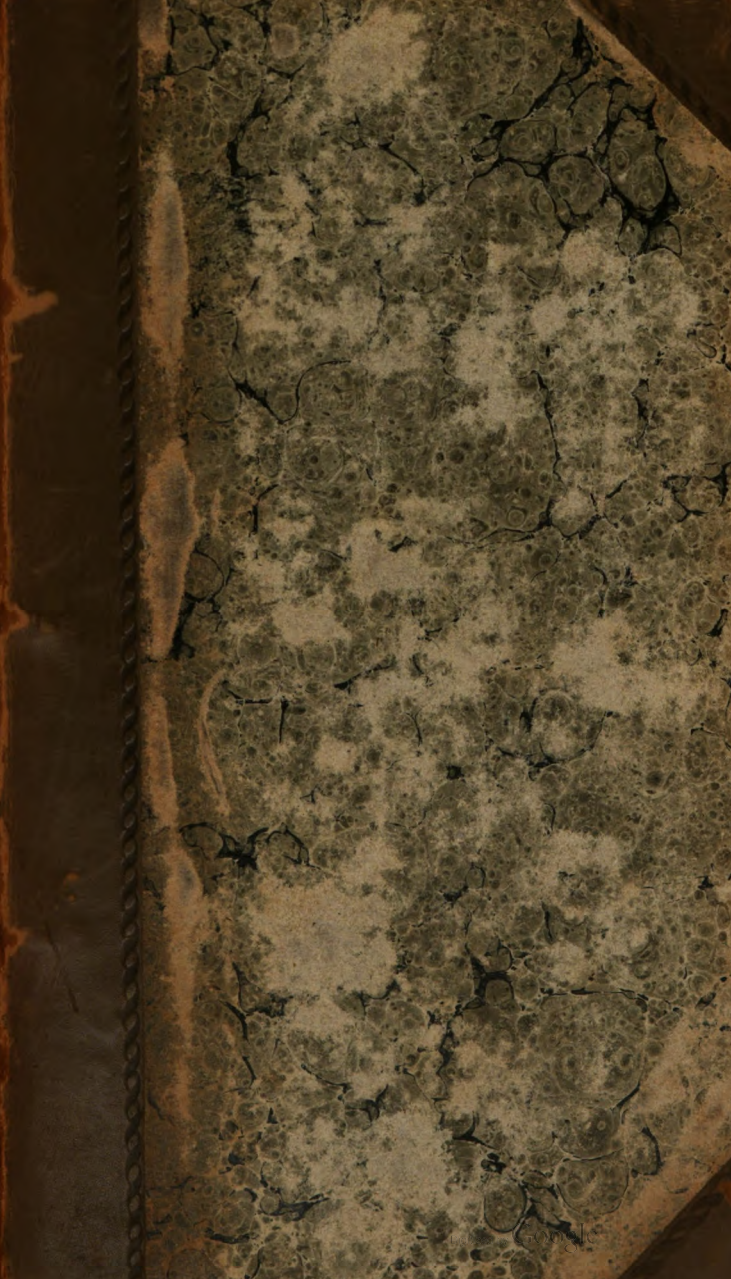
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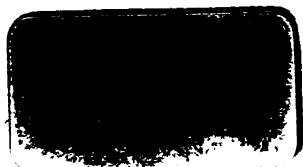
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A

Philosophical Dictionary.

FROM THE FRENCH OF

M. DE VOLTAIRE.



Without Philosophy, we should be little above the animals that dig or erect their habitations, prepare their food in them, take care of their little ones in their dwellings, and have, besides, the good fortune, which we have not, of being born ready-clothed.

Article ANTIQUITY, Vol. 1. p. 177.

How charming is divine Philosophy!
Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,
But musical as is Apollo's lute,
And a perpetual feast of nectar'd sweets,
Where no crude surfeit reigns.

MILTON'S COMUS, Scene 2.

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ERRATA.

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58, line 6, for "Gengis-kran," read "Gengis-Khan."

73, line 9, the full point should be a comma.

263, In the article Justice, the name "Verron" is throughout erroneously printed "Perron."

PHILOSOPHICAL DICTIONARY.

GREGORY VII.

BAYLE himself, while admitting that Gregory was the firebrand of Europe, concedes to him the denomination of a great man. "That old Rome," says he, "which plumed itself upon conquests and military virtue, should have brought so many other nations under its dominion, redounds, according to the general maxims of mankind, to her credit and glory; but, upon the slightest reflection, can excite little surprise. On the other hand, it is a subject of great surprise to see new Rome, which pretended to value itself only on an apostolic ministry, possessed of an authority under which the greatest monarchs have been constrained to bend. Caron may observe, with truth, that there is scarcely a single emperor who has opposed the popes without feeling bitter cause to regret his resistance. Even at the present day the conflicts of powerful princes with the court of Rome almost always terminate in their confusion."

I am of a totally different opinion from Bayle. There will probably be many of a different one from mine. I deliver it however with freedom, and let him who is willing and able refute it.

1st. The differences of the princes of Orange and the Seven Provinces with Rome did not terminate in their confusion; and Bayle, who, while at Amsterdam, could set Rome at defiance, was a happy illustration of the contrary.

The triumphs of queen Elizabeth, of Gustavus Vasa

in Sweden, of the kings of Denmark, of all the princes of the north of Germany, of the finest part of Helvetia, of the single and small city of Geneva,—the triumphs, I say, of all these over the policy of the Roman court, are perfectly satisfactory testimonies that it may be easily and successfully resisted, both in affairs of religion and government.

2dly. The sacking of Rome by the troops of Charles the Fifth; the pope (Clement VII.) a prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo; Louis XIV. compelling pope Alexander VII. to ask his pardon, and erecting even in Rome itself a monument of the pope's submission; and, within our own times, the easy subversion of that steady, and apparently most formidable support of the papal power, the society of jesuits in Spain, in France, in Naples, in Goa, and in Paraguay—all this furnishes decisive evidence, that, when potent princes are in hostility with Rome, the quarrel is not terminated in their confusion; they may occasionally bend before the storm, but they will not eventually be overthrown.

When the popes walked on the heads of kings, when they conferred crowns by a parchment bull, it appears to me, that at this extreme height of their power and grandeur they did no more than the Caliphs, who were the successors of Mahomet, did in the very period of their decline. Both of them, in the character of priests, conferred the investiture of empires, in solemn ceremony, on the most powerful of contending parties.

3dly. Maimbourg says—"What no pope ever did before, Gregory VIII. deprived Henry IV. of his dignity of emperor, and of his kingdoms of Germany and Italy."

Maimbourg is mistaken. Pope Zachary had, long before that, placed a crown on the head of the Austrasian Pepin, who usurped the kingdom of the Franks; and pope Leo III. had declared the son of that Pepin emperor of the west, and thereby deprived the empress Irene of the whole of that empire; and from that time, it must be admitted, there has not been a single priest of the Romish church who has not imagined that his bishop enjoyed the disposal of all crowns.

This maxim was always turned to account when it was possible to be so. It was considered as a consecrated weapon, deposited in the sacristy of St. John of Lateran, which might be drawn forth in solemn and impressive ceremony on every occasion that required it. This prerogative is so commanding; it raises to such a height the dignity of an exorcist born at Velletri or Civita Vecchia, that if Luther, Æcolampadius, John Calvin, and all the prophets of the Cevennes, had been natives of any miserable village near Rome, and undergone the tonsure there, they would have supported that church with the same rage which they actually manifested for its destruction.

4thly. Everything, then, depends on the time and place of a man's birth, and the circumstances by which he is surrounded. Gregory VII. was born in an age of barbarism, ignorance, and superstition; and he had to deal with a young debauched inexperienced emperor, deficient in money, and whose power was contested by all the powerful lords of Germany.

We cannot believe, that, from the time of the Austrasian Charlemagne, the Roman people ever paid very willing obedience to Franks or Teutonians: it hated them as much as the genuine old Romans would have hated the Cimbri, if the Cimbri had obtained dominion in Italy. The Othos had left behind them in Rome a memory that was execrated, because they had enjoyed great power there; and, after the time of the Othos, Europe it is well known become involved in frightful anarchy.

This anarchy was not more effectually restrained under the emperors of the house of Franconia. One half of Germany was in insurrection against Henry IV. The countess Matilda, grand duchess, his cousin german, more powerful than himself in Italy, was his mortal enemy. She possessed, either as fiefs of the empire, or as allodial property, the whole duchy of Tuscany, the territory of Cremona, Ferrara, Mantua, and Parma; a part of the Marches of Ancona, Reggio, Modena, Spoleto, and Verona; and she had rights, that is to say pretensions, to the two Burgundys; for

the imperial chancery claimed those territories, according to its regular practice of claiming everything.

We admit, that Gregory VII. would have been little less than an idiot had he not exerted his strongest efforts to secure a complete influence over this powerful princess; and to obtain, by her means, a point of support and protection against the Germans. He became her director, and, after being her director, her heir.

I shall not, in this place, examine whether he was really her lover, or whether he only pretended to be so; or whether his enemies merely pretended it; or whether, in his idle moments, the assuming and ardent little director did not occasionally abuse the influence he possessed with his penitent, and prevail over a feeble and capricious woman. In the course of human events nothing can be more natural or common; but as usually no registers are kept of such cases; as those interesting intimacies between the directors and directed do not take place before witnesses, and as Gregory has been reproached with this imputation only by his enemies, we ought not to confound accusation with proof. It is quite enough that Gregory claimed the whole of his penitent's property.

5thly. The donation which he procured to be made to himself by the countess Matilda, in the year 1077, is more than suspected. And one proof that it is not to be relied upon, is, that not merely this deed was never shown, but that, in a second deed, the first is stated to have been lost. It was pretended that the donation had been made in the fortress of Canosse, and in the second act it is said to have been made at Rome.* These circumstances may be considered as confirming the opinion of some antiquaries, a little too scrupulous, who maintain that out of a thousand grants made in those times (and those times were of long duration) there are more than nine hundred evidently counterfeit.

There have been two sorts of usurpers in our quarter of the world, Europe—robbers and forgers.

6thly. Bayle, although allowing the title of great to

* See the article DONATION.

Gregory, acknowledges at the same time that this turbulent man disgraced his heroism by his prophecies. He had the audacity to create an emperor, and in that he did well, as the emperor Henry IV. had made a pope. Henry deposed him, and he deposed Henry. So far there is nothing to object;—both sides are equal. But Gregory took it into his head to turn prophet; he predicted the death of Henry IV. for the year 1080; but Henry IV. conquered, and the pretended emperor Rodolphus was defeated and slain in Thuringia by the famous Godfrey of Bouillon, a man more truly great than all the other three.

This proves, in my opinion, that Gregory had more enthusiasm than talent.

I subscribe with all my heart to the remark of Bayle, that “when a man undertakes to predict the future, he is provided against everything by a face of brass, and an inexhaustible magazine of equivocations.” But your enemies deride your equivocations; they also have a face of brass like yourself; and they expose you as a knave, a braggart, and a fool.

7thly. Our great man ended his public career with witnessing the taking of Rome by assault, in the year 1083. He was besieged in the castle, since called St. Angelo, by the same emperor Henry IV., whom he had dared to dispossess, and died in misery and contempt at Salerno, under the protection of Robert Guiscard the Norman.

I ask pardon of modern Rome, but when I read the history of the Scipios, the Catos, the Pompeys, and the Cæsars, I find a difficulty in ranking with them a factious monk who was made a pope under the name of Gregory VII.

But our Gregory has obtained even a yet finer title; he has been made a saint, at least at Rome. It was the famous cardinal Coscia who effected this canonization under pope Benedict XIII. Even an office or service of St. Gregory VII. was printed, in which it was said, that that saint “absolved the faithful from the allegiance which they had sworn to their emperor.”

Many parliaments of the kingdom were desirous

of having this legend burnt by the executioner ; but Bentivoglio, the nuncio,—who kept one of the actresses at the opera, of the name of Constitution, as his mistress, and had by her a daughter called la Légende ; a man otherwise extremely amiable, and a most interesting companion,—procured from the ministry a mitigation of the threatened storm ; and, after passing sentence of condemnation on the legend of St. Gregory, the hostile party were contented to suppress it and to laugh at it.

HAPPY—HAPPILY.

WHAT is called happiness is an abstract idea, composed of various ideas of pleasure ; for he who has but a moment of pleasure is not a happy man, in like manner that a moment of grief constitutes not a miserable one. Pleasure is more transient than happiness, and happiness than felicity. When a person says—I am happy at this moment, he abuses the word, and only means I am pleased. When pleasure is continuous, he may then call himself happy. When this happiness lasts a little longer, it is a state of felicity. We are sometimes very far from being happy in prosperity, just as a surfeited invalid eats nothing of a great feast prepared for him.

The ancient adage, “ No person should be called happy before his death,” seems to turn on very false principles, if we mean by this maxim that we should not give the name of happy to a man who had been so constantly from his birth to his last hour. This continuity of agreeable moments is rendered impossible by the constitution of our organs, by that of the elements on which we depend, and by that of mankind, on whom we depend still more. Constant happiness is the philosopher’s stone of the soul ; it is a great deal for us not to be a long time unhappy. A person whom we might suppose to have always enjoyed a happy life, who perishes miserably, would certainly merit the appellation of happy until his death, and we might boldly pronounce that he had been the happiest of men. Socrates might have been the happiest of the Greeks, although super-

stitious, absurd, or iniquitous judges, or all together, juridically poisoned him at the age of seventy years, on the suspicion that he believed in one only God.

The philosophical maxim so much agitated, "*Nemo ante obitum felix*," therefore, appears absolutely false in every sense; and if it signifies that a happy man may die an unhappy death, it signifies nothing of consequence.

The proverb of being "Happy as a king" is still more false. Every body knows how the vulgar deceive themselves.

It is demanded, if one condition is happier than another? If man in general is happier than woman? It would be necessary to have tried all conditions, to have been man and woman like Tiresias and Iphis, to decide this question; still more would it be necessary to have lived in all conditions, with a mind equally proper to each; and we must have passed through all the possible state of man and woman to judge of it.

It is further demanded, if of two men one is happier than the other? It is very clear that he who has the gout and stone, who loses his fortune, his honour, his wife and children, and who is condemned to be hanged immediately after having been mangled, is less happy in this world in everything, than a young vigorous sultan, or La Fontaine's cobbler.

But we wish to know which is the happiest of two men equally healthy, equally rich, and of an equal condition? It is clear, that it is their temper which decides it. The most moderate, the least anxious, and at the same time the most sensible, is the most happy; but unfortunately the most sensible is often the least moderate. It is not our condition, it is the temper of our souls which renders us happy. This disposition of our soul depends on our organs, and our organs have been arranged without our having the least part in the arrangement.

It belongs to the reader to make his reflexions on the above. There are many articles on which he can say more than we ought to tell him. In matters of art, it is necessary to instruct him; in affairs of morals, he should be left to think for himself.

There are dogs whom we caress, comb, and feed with biscuits, and to whom we give pretty females: there are others which are covered with the mange, which die of hunger; others which we chase and beat, and which a young surgeon slowly dissects, after having driven four great nails into their paws. Has it depended upon these poor dogs to be happy or unhappy?

We say a happy thought, a happy feature, a happy repartee, a happy physiognomy, happy climate, &c. These thoughts, these happy traits, which strike like sudden inspirations, and which are called the happy sallies of a man of wit, strike like flashes of light across our eyes, without our seeking it. They are no more in our power than a happy physiognomy; that is to say, a sweet and noble aspect, so independent of us, and so often deceitful. The happy climate is that which nature favours: so are happy imaginations, so is happy genius, or great talent. And who can give himself genius? or who, when he has received some ray of this flame, can preserve it always brilliant?

When we speak of a happy rascal, by this word we only comprehend his success. "Felix Sylla"—the fortunate Sylla, an Alexander VI., a duke of Borgia, have happily pillaged, betrayed, poisoned, ravaged, and assassinated. But being villains, it is very likely that they were very unhappy, even when not in fear of persons resembling themselves.

It may happen to an ill-disposed person, badly educated,—a Turk for example, of whom it ought to be said, that he is permitted to doubt the Christian faith—to put a silken cord round the necks of his visiers, when they are rich; to strangle, massacre, or throw his brothers into the Black sea, and to ravage a hundred leagues of country for his glory. It may happen, I say, that this man has no more remorse than his mufti, and is very happy,—on all which the reader may duly ponder.

There were formerly happy planets, and others unhappy, or unfortunate; unhappily, they no longer exist.

Some people would have deprived the public of

this useful Dictionary—happily, they have not succeeded.

Ungenerous minds, and absurd fanatics, every day endeavour to prejudice the powerful and the ignorant against philosophers. If they were unhappily listened to, we should fall back into the barbarity from which philosophers alone have withdrawn us.

HEAVEN (CIEL MATERIEL.)

THE laws of optics, which are founded upon the nature of things, have ordained that, from this small globe of earth on which we live, we shall always see the material heaven as if we were the centre of it, although we are far from being that centre.

That we shall always see it as a vaulted roof, hanging over a plane, although there is no other vaulted roof than that of our atmosphere, which has no such plane.

That our sun and moon will always appear one third larger at the horizon than at their zenith, although they are nearer the spectator at the zenith than at the horizon.

Such are the laws of optics, such is the structure of your eyes, that, in the first place, the material heaven, the clouds, the moon, the sun, which is at so vast a distance from you; the planets, which in their apogee are still at a greater distance from it; all the stars placed at distances yet vastly greater, comets and meteors, everything, must appear to us in that vaulted roof as consisting of our atmosphere.

The sun appears to us, when in its zenith, smaller than when at fifteen degrees below; at thirty degrees below the zenith it will appear still larger than at fifteen; and finally, at the horizon, its size will seem larger yet; so that its dimensions in the lower heaven decrease in consequence of its elevations, in the following proportions:—

At the horizon	-	-	-	100
At fifteen degrees above			-	68
At thirty degrees	-	-	-	50
At forty-five degrees	-	-	-	40

Its apparent magnitudes in the vaulted roof are as its apparent elevations ; and it is the same with the moon, and with a comet.*

It is not habit, it is not the intervention of tracts of land, it is not the refraction of the atmosphere which produce this effect. Malebranche and Regis have disputed with each other on the subject; but Robert Smith has calculated.†

Observe the two stars, which, being at a prodigious distance from each other, and at very different depths, in the immensity of space, are here considered as placed in the circle which the sun appears to traverse. You perceive them distant from each other in the great circle, but approximating to each other in every circle smaller, or within that described by the path of the sun.

It is in this manner that you see the material heaven. It is by these invariable laws of optics that you perceive the planets sometimes retrograde and sometimes stationary; there is in fact nothing of the kind. Were you stationed in the sun, we should perceive all the planets and comets moving regularly round it in those elliptic orbits which God assigns. But we are upon the planet of the earth, in a corner of the universe, where it is impossible for us to enjoy the sight of every thing.

Let us not then blame the errors of our senses, like Malebranche ; the steady laws of nature originating in the immutable will of the Almighty, and adapted to the structure of our organs, cannot be errors.

We can only see the appearances of things, and not

* See Smith's "Optics."

† The opinion of Smith is fundamentally the same as that of Malebranche. Since the stars at the zenith, and at the horizon, are seen under an angle nearly equal, the apparent difference in size can arise only from the same cause as induces us to judge a body of a hundred cubic inches, when seen at the distance of a hundred feet, larger than a body of a single cubic inch, when seen at the distance of a single foot; and this cause can be no other than a conclusion of the mind become habitual, and of which, on that very account, we have ceased to retain a distinct consciousness.

things themselves. We are no more deceived when the sun, the work of the divinity—that star a million times larger than our earth—appears to us quite flat and two feet in width, than when, in a convex mirror, which is the work of our own hands, we see a man only a few inches high.

If the Chaldean Magi were the first who employed the understanding, which God bestowed upon them, to measure and arrange in their respective stations the heavenly bodies, other nations more gross and unintelligent made no advance towards imitating them.

These childish and savage populations imagined the earth to be flat, supported, I know not how, by its own weight in the air; the sun, moon, and stars to move continually upon a solid vaulted roof called a firmament; and this roof to sustain waters, and have flood-gates at regular distances, through which these waters issued to moisten and fertilise the earth.

But how did the sun, the moon, and all the stars, reappear after their sitting? Of this they know nothing at all. The heaven touched the flat earth; and there were no means by which the sun, moon, and stars, could turn under the earth, and go to rise in the east after having set in the west. It is true, that these children of ignorance were right by chance in not entertaining the idea that the sun and fixed stars moved round the earth. But they were far from conceiving that the sun was immoveable, and the earth with its satellite revolving round him in space together with the other planets. Their fables were more distant from the true system of the world than darkness from light.

They thought the sun and stars returned by certain unknown roads after having refreshed themselves for their course at some spot, not precisely ascertained, in the Mediterranean sea. This was the amount of astronomy, even in the time of Homer, who is comparatively recent; for the Chaldeans kept their science to themselves, in order to obtain thereby greater respect from other nations. Homer says, more than once, that the sun plunges into the ocean (and this ocean,

be it observed, is nothing but the Nile): here, by the freshness of the waters, he repairs during the night the fatigue and exhaustion of the day, after which, he goes to the place of his regular rising by ways unknown to mortals. This idea is very like that of baron Fœneste, who says, that the cause of our not seeing the sun when he goes back, is that he goes back by night.

As, at that time, the nations of Syria and the Greeks were somewhat acquainted with Asia and a small part of Europe, and had no notion of the countries which lie to the north of the Euxine sea and to the south of the Nile, they laid it down as a certainty that the earth was a full third longer than it was wide; consequently the heaven, which touched the earth and embraced it, was also more long than wide. Hence came down to us degrees of longitude and latitude, names which we have always retained, although with far more correct ideas than those which originally suggested them.

The book of Job, composed by an ancient Arab who possessed some knowledge of astronomy, since he speaks of the constellations, contains nevertheless the following passage: "Where wert thou, when I laid the foundation of the earth? Who hath taken the dimensions thereof? On what are its foundations fixed? Who hath laid the corner-stone thereof?"

The least informed schoolboy, at the present day, would tell him, in answer: The earth has neither corner-stone nor foundation; and, as to its dimensions, we know them perfectly well, as from Magellan to Bougainville, various navigators have sailed round it.

The same schoolboy would put to silence the pompous declaimer Lactantius, and all those who before and since his time have decided that the earth was fixed upon the water, and that there can be no heaven under the earth; and that, consequently, it is both ridiculous and impious to suppose the existence of antipodes.

It is curious to observe with what disdain, with what contemptuous pity, Lactantius looks down upon all the philosophers, who, from about four hundred years before his time, had begun to be acquainted with the

apparent revolutions of the sun and planets, with the roundness of the earth, and the liquid and yielding nature of the heaven through which the planets revolved in their orbits, &c. He enquires, "by what degrees philosophers attained such excess of folly as to conceive the earth to be a globe, and to surround that globe with heaven."*

These reasonings are upon a par with those he has adduced on the subject of the sibyls.

Our young scholar would address some such language as this to all these consequential doctors: "You are to learn, that there are no such things as solid heavens placed one over another, as you have been told; that there are no real circles in which the stars move on a pretended firmament; that the sun is the centre of our planetary world; and that the earth and the planets move round it in space, in orbits not circular but elliptic. You must learn that there is, in fact, neither above nor below, but that the planets and the comets tend all towards the sun, their common centre, and that the sun tends towards them, according to an eternal law of gravitation."

Lactantius and his gabbling associates would be perfectly astonished, when the true system of the world was thus unfolded to them.

HEAVEN OF THE ANCIENTS.

WERE a silkworm to denominate the small quantity of downy substance surrounding its ball, heaven, it would reason just as correctly as all the ancients, when they applied that term to the atmosphere; which, as M. de Fontenelle has well observed, in his "Plurality of Worlds," is the down of our ball.

* Lactantius, book iii. chap. xxiv.; and the clergy of France, solemnly assembled, in the year 1770, seriously cited, as a father of the church, this very Lactantius, whom the pupils of the school of Alexandria, in his own time, would have absolutely laughed at, if they had happened to cast their eyes upon his contemptible rhapsodies.

The vapours which rise from our seas and land, and which form the clouds, meteors, and thunder, were supposed, in the early ages of the world, to be the residence of gods. Homer always makes the gods descend in clouds of gold; and hence painters still represent them seated on a cloud. How can any one be seated on water? It was perfectly correct to place the master of the gods more at ease than the rest: He had an eagle to carry him, because the eagle soars higher than the other birds.

The ancient Greeks, observing that the lords of cities resided in citadels on the top of some mountain, supposed that the gods might also have their citadel, and placed it in Thessaly, on Mount Olympus, whose summit is sometimes hid in clouds; so that their palace was on the same floor with their heaven.

Afterwards, the stars and planets, which appear fixed to the blue vault of our atmosphere, became the abodes of gods; seven of them had each a planet, and the rest found a lodging where they could. The general council of gods was held in a spacious hall which lay beyond the milky way; for it was but reasonable that the gods should have a hall in the air, as men had town-halls and courts of assembly upon earth.

When the Titans, a species of animal between gods and men, declared their just and necessary war against these same gods, in order to recover a part of their patrimony, by the father's side, as they were the sons of heaven and earth; they contented themselves with piling two or three mountains upon one another, thinking, that would be quite enough to make them masters of heaven, and of the castle of Olympus.

*Neve foret terris securior arduus æther,
Affectasse ferunt regnum celeste gigantes;
Altaque congestos struxisse ad sidera montes.*

Ovid's Metamorph. i. 151—153.

*Nor heaven itself was more secure than earth:
Against the gods the Titans levied wars,
And pil'd up mountains till they reached the stars.*

It is, however, more than six hundred leagues from these stars to Mount Olympus, and from some stars infinitely farther.

Virgil (Eclogue v. 57.) does not hesitate to say,—

Sub pedibusque videt nubes et sidera Daphnis.

Daphnis, the guest of heaven, with wondering eyes,
Views in the milky way, the starry skies,
And far beneath him, from the shining sphere
Beholds the morning clouds, and rolling year.—**DRYDEN.**

But where then could Daphnis possibly place himself?

At the opera, and in more serious productions, the gods are introduced descending in the midst of tempests, clouds and thunder; that is, God is brought forward in the midst of the vapours of our petty globe. These notions are so suitable to our weak minds, that they appear to us grand and sublime.

This philosophy of children and old women was of prodigious antiquity; it is believed, however, that the Chaldeans entertained nearly as correct ideas as ourselves on the subject of what is called heaven. They placed the sun in the midst of our planetary system, nearly at the same distance from our globe as our calculation computes it; and they supposed the earth and some planets to revolve round that star; this we learn from Aristarchus of Samos. It is nearly the system of the world since established by Copernicus: but the philosophers kept the secret to themselves, in order to obtain greater respect both from kings and people, or rather perhaps, to avoid the danger of persecution.

The language of error is so familiar to mankind, that we still apply the name of heaven to our vapours, and the space between the earth and moon. We use the expression of ascending to heaven, just as we say the sun turns round, although we well know that it does not. We are, probably, the heaven of the inhabitants of the moon; and every planet places its heaven in that planet nearest to itself.

Had Homer been asked, to what heaven the soul of Sarpedon had fled, or where that of Hercules re-

sided, Homer would have been a good deal embarrassed, and would have answered by some harmonious verses.

What assurance could there be, that the ethereal soul of Hercules would be more at its ease in the planet Venus or in Saturn, than upon our own globe? Could its mansion be in the sun? In that flaming and consuming furnace, it would appear difficult for it to endure its station. In short, what was it that the ancients meant by heaven? They knew nothing about it; they were always exclaiming "Heaven and earth," thus placing completely different things in most absurd connection. It would be just as judicious to exclaim, and connect in the same manner, infinity and an atom. Properly speaking, there is no heaven. There is a prodigious number of globes revolving in the immensity of space, and our globe revolves like the rest.

The ancients thought, that to go to heaven was to ascend; but there is no ascent from one globe to another. The heavenly bodies are sometimes above our horizon, and sometimes below it. Thus, let us suppose that Venus, after visiting Paphos, should return to her own planet, when that planet had set; the goddess would not in that case ascend, in reference to our horizon; she would descend, and the proper expression would be then, descended to heaven. But the ancients did not discriminate with such nicety; on every subject of natural philosophy, their notions were vague, uncertain and contradictory. Volumes have been composed in order to ascertain and point out, what they thought upon many questions of this description. Six words would have been sufficient—"they did not think at all." We must always except a small number of sages; but they appeared at too late a period, and but rarely disclosed their thoughts; and when they did so, the charlatans in power took care to send them to heaven by the shortest way.

A writer, if I am not mistaken, of the name of Pluche, has been recently exhibiting Moses as a great natural philosopher; another writer had pre-

viously harmonized Moses with Descartes, and published a book, which he called "*Cartesius Mosaisans*;" according to him, Moses was the real inventor of "*Vortices*," and the subtle matter; but we full well know, that when God made Moses a great legislator and prophet, it was no part of his scheme to make him also a professor of physics. Moses instructed the Jews in their duty, and did not teach them a single word of philosophy. Calmet, who compiled a great deal, but never reasoned at all, talks of the system of the Hebrews; but that stupid people never had any system. They had not even a school of geometry; the very name was utterly unknown to them. The whole of their science was comprised in money changing and usury.

We find in their books ideas on the structure of heaven, confused, incoherent, and in every respect worthy of a people immersed in barbarism. Their first heaven was the air, the second the firmament in which the stars were fixed. This firmament was solid and made of glass, and supported the superior waters which issued from the vast reservoirs by flood-gates, sluices, and cataracts, at the time of the deluge.

Above the firmament or these superior waters was the third heaven, or the empyreum, to which St. Paul was caught up. The firmament was a sort of demi-vault which came close down to the earth.

It is clear that, according to this opinion, there could be no antipodes. Accordingly, St. Augustin treats the idea of antipodes as an absurdity; and Lactantius, whom we have already quoted, expressly says "can there possibly be any persons so simple as to believe that there are men whose heads are lower than their feet?" &c.

St. Chrysostom exclaims, in his fourteenth homily, "Where are they who pretend that the heavens are moveable, and that their form is circular?"

Lactantius, once more, says, in the third book of his *Institutions*, "I could prove to you by many arguments that it is impossible heaven should surround the earth."

The author of the "Spectacle of Nature" may repeat to M. le Chevalier as often as he pleases, that Lanctantius and St. Crysostom are great philosophers. He will be told in reply that they were great saints; and that to be a great saint, it is not at all necessary to be a great astronomer. It will be believed that they are in heaven, although it will be admitted to be impossible to say precisely in what part of it.

HELL.

INFERNUM, subterranean; the regions below, or the infernal regions. Nations which buried the dead placed them in the inferior or infernal regions. Their soul, then, was with them in those regions. Such were the first physics and the first metaphysics of the Egyptians and Greeks.

The Indians, who were far more ancient, who had invented the ingenious doctrine of the metempsychosis, never believed that souls existed in the infernal regions.

The Japanese, Coreans, Chinese, and the inhabitants of the vast territory of eastern and western Tartary, never knew a word of the philosophy of the infernal regions.

The Greeks, in the course of time, constituted an immense kingdom of these infernal regions, which they liberally conferred on Pluto and his wife Proserpine. They assigned them three privy counsellors, three house-keepers called Furies, and three Fates to spin, wind, and cut the thread of human life. And, as in ancient times, every hero had his dog to guard his gate, so was Pluto attended and guarded by an immense dog with three heads; for everything, it seems, was to be done by threes. Of the three privy counsellors, Minos, Æacus, and Rhadamanthus, one judged Greece, another Asia Minor (for the Greeks were then unacquainted with the Greater Asia), and the third was for Europe.

The poets, having invented these infernal regions, or hell, were the first to laugh at them. Sometimes Vir-

gil mentions hell in the *Æniad* in a style of seriousness, because that style was then suitable to his subject. Sometimes he speaks of it with contempt in his *Georgics* (ii. 490, &c.)

Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas
Atque metus omnes et inexorabile fatum
Subjecit pedibus strepitumque Acherontis avari !

Happy the man whose vigorous soul can pierce
Through the formation of this universe,
Who nobly dares despise with soul sedate,
The den of Acheron, and vulgar fears and fate.

WHARTON.

The following lines from the *Troad* (chorus of act ii.) in which Pluto, Cerberus, Phlegethon, Styx, &c. are treated like dreams and childish tales, were repeated in the theatre of Rome, and applauded by forty thousand hands:—

. Tœnara et aspero
Regnum sub domino, limen et obsidens
Custos non facili Cerberus ostio
Rumores vacui, verbaque inania,
Et par sollicito fabula somnio.

Lucretius and Horace express themselves equally strong. Cicero and Seneca used similar language in innumerable parts of their writings. The great emperor Marcus Aurelius reasons still more philosophically than all those I have mentioned.* “He who fears death, fears either to be deprived of all senses, or to experience other sensations. But, if you no longer retain your own senses, you will be no longer subject to any pain or grief. If you have senses of a different nature you will be a totally different being.”

To this reasoning, profane philosophy had nothing to reply. Yet, agreeably to that contradiction or perverseness which distinguishes the human species, and seems to constitute the very foundation of our nature, at the very time when Cicero publicly declared, that “not even an old woman was to be found who believed in such absurdities,” Lucretius admitted that these ideas were very powerfully impressive upon men’s minds ; his object, he says, is to destroy them:—

* Book viii. No. 62.

Si certum finem esse viderent
 Ærumnarum homines, aliqua ratione valerent
 Religionibus atque minis obsistere vatum.
 Nunc ratio nulla est restandi, nulla facultas;
 Æternas quoniam pœnas in morte timendum.

LUCRETIVS, book i. 108.

If it once appear
 That after death there's neither hope nor fear;
 Then might men freely triumph, then disdain
 The poet's tales, and scorn their fancied pain;
 But now we must submit, since pains we fear
 Eternal after death, we know not where.—CREECH.

It was therefore true, that among the lowest classes of the people, some laughed at hell, and others trembled at it. Some regarded Cerberus, the Furies, and Pluto, as ridiculous fables, others perpetually presented offerings to the infernal gods. It was with them just as it is now among ourselves:—

Et quocumque tamen miseri venere, parentant,
 Et nigros mactant pecudes, et Manibu' divis
 Inferias mittunt multoque in rebus acerbis
 Acrisius admittunt animos ad religionem.

LUCRETIVS, iii. 51.

Nay, more than that, where'er the wretches come
 They sacrifice black sheep on every tomb,
 To please the manes; and of all the rout,
 When cares and dangers press, grow most devout.

CREECH.

Many philosophers who had no belief in the fables about hell, were yet desirous that the people should retain that belief. Such was Zimens of Locris. Such was the political historian Polybius. "Hell," says he, "is useless to sages, but necessary to the blind and brutal populace."

It is well known, that the law of the Pentateuch never announces a hell.* All mankind were involved

* In the Encyclopedia, the author of the article THEOLOGICAL HELL appears to make a strange mistake when quoting the twenty-second and following verses of the thirty-second chapter of Deuteronomy. The passage has no more reference to hell, than to marriage and dancing. It describes God as speaking thus: "They have moved me to jealousy with that which is not God, and they have provoked me to anger with their vanities, and I will move them to jealousy with that which is not a people, and I will provoke them to anger with a foolish nation. A fire is kindled in

in this chaos of contradiction and uncertainty, when Jesus Christ came into the world. He confirmed the ancient doctrine of hell, not the doctrine of the heathen poets, not that of the Egyptian priests, but that which christianity adopted, and to which everything must yield. He announced a kingdom that was about to come, and a hell that should have no end.

He said, in express words at Capernaum in Galilee,* "Whosoever shall call his brother 'Raca,' shall be condemned by the sanhedrim; but whosoever shall call him fool, shall be condemned to gehenna hinnon, gehenna of fire."

This proves two things, first, that Jesus Christ was adverse to abuse and reviling; for it belonged only to him, as master, to call the pharisees hypocrites, and a 'generation of vipers.'

Secondly, that those who revile their neighbour deserve hell; for the gehenna of fire was in the valley of Hinnon, where victims had formerly been burnt in sacrifice to Moloch, and this gehenna was typical of the fire of hell.

He says, in another place, † "If any one shall offend one of the weak who believe in me, it were better for him that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck and he were cast into the sea.

"And if thy hand offend thee, cut it off; it is better for thee to enter into life maimed, than to go into the

mine anger, and it shall burn to the borders of the infernal regions, and it shall consume the earth with her increase, and set on fire the foundations of the mountains. I will heap mischiefs upon them, I will spend mine arrows upon them, I will cause them to die with hunger; the birds shall devour them with bitter destruction; I will send the teeth of beasts against them with the poison of reptiles and serpents. The sword of the destroyer without, and terror within shall destroy the young man and the virgin, and the suckling also with the man of grey hairs."

Is there anything here, let me ask, which intimates punishments after death? Do burnt-up herbs, biting serpents, slaughtered young women and children, at all resemble hell? Is it not disgraceful to mangle and mutilate a passage in order to find in it what it does not contain? If the author was himself deceived, I excuse him; if he wished to deceive others, he is unpardonable.

* Matthew v. 22.

† Mark ix. 41.

gehenna of inextinguishable fire, where the worm dies not, and where the fire is not quenched.

“And if thy foot offend thee, cut it off; it is better for thee to enter lame into eternal life, than to be cast with two feet into the inextinguishable gehenna, where the worm dies not, and where the fire is not quenched.

“And if thine eye offend thee, pluck it out; it is better to enter into the kingdom of God with one eye, than to be cast with both eyes into the gehenna of fire, where the worm dies not, and the fire is not quenched.

“For every one shall be burned with fire, and every victim shall be salted with salt.

“Salt is good; but if the salt have lost its savour, with what will you salt?

“You have salt in yourselves, preserve peace one with another.”

He said on another occasion, on his journey to Jerusalem,* “When the master of the house shall have entered and shut the door, you will remain without, and knock, saying Lord, open unto us; and he will answer and say unto you ‘Nescio vos,’ I know you not; whence are you? And then ye shall begin to say, we have eaten and drunk with thee, and thou hast taught in our public places; and he will reply ‘Nescio vos,’ whence are you, workers of iniquity? And there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, when ye shall see there Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the prophets, and yourselves cast out.”

Notwithstanding the other positive declarations made by the Saviour of mankind, which assert the eternal damnation of all who do not belong to our church, Origen and some others were not believers in the eternity of punishments.

The Socinians reject such punishments; but they are without the pale. The Lutherans and Calvinists, although they have strayed beyond the pale, yet admit the doctrine of a hell without end.

When men came to live in society they must have

* Luke xiii. 25.

perceived that a great number of criminals eluded the severity of the laws; the laws punished public crimes; it was necessary to establish a check upon secret crimes; this check was to be found only in religion. The Persians, Chaldeans, Egyptians, and Greeks, entertained the idea of punishments after the present life, and of all the nations of antiquity that we are acquainted with, the Jews, as we have already remarked, were the only one who admitted solely temporal punishments. It is ridiculous to believe, or pretend to believe, from some excessively obscure passages, that hell was recognised by the ancient laws of the Jews, by their Leviticus or by their Decalogue, when the author of those laws says not a single word which can bear the slightest relation to the chastisements of a future life. We might have some right to address the compiler of the Pentateuch in such language as the following:—You are a man of no consistency, as destitute of probity as of understanding, and totally unworthy of the name which you arrogate to yourself of legislator. What! you are perfectly acquainted, it seems, with that doctrine so eminently repressive of human vice, so necessary to the virtue and happiness of mankind—the doctrine of hell; and yet you do not explicitly announce it; and, while it is admitted by all the nations which surround you, you are content to leave it for some commentators, after four thousand years have passed away, to suspect that this doctrine might possibly have been entertained by you, and to twist and torture your expressions, in order to find that in them which you have never said. Either you are grossly ignorant not to know that this belief was universal in Egypt, Chaldea, and Persia; or you have committed the most disgraceful error in judgment, in not having made it the foundation stone of your religion.

The authors of the Jewish laws could at most only answer,—We confess that we are excessively ignorant; that we did not learn the art of writing until a late period; that our people were a wild and barbarous horde, that wandered, as our own records admit, for

nearly half a century in impracticable deserts, and at length obtained possession of a petty territory by the most odious rapine and detestable cruelty ever mentioned in the records of history. We had no commerce with civilised nations, and how could you suppose that, so grossly mean and grovelling as we are in all our ideas and usages, we should have invented a system so refined and spiritual as that in question?

We employed the word which most nearly corresponds with soul, merely to signify life; we knew our god and his ministers, his angels, only as corporeal beings; the distinction of soul and body, the idea of a life beyond death can be the fruit only of long meditation and refined philosophy. Ask the Hottentots and Negroes, who inhabit a country a hundred times larger than ours, whether they know anything of a life to come? We thought we had done enough in persuading the people under our influence that God punished offenders to the fourth generation, either by leprosy, by sudden death, or by the loss of the little property of which the criminal might be possessed.

To this apology it might be replied:—You have invented a system, the ridicule and absurdity of which are as clear as the sun at noon-day; for the offender who enjoyed good health, and whose family were in prosperous circumstances, must absolutely have laughed you to scorn.

The apologist for the Jewish law would here rejoin,—You are much mistaken; since, for one criminal who reasoned correctly, there were a hundred who never reasoned at all. The man who, after he had committed a crime, found no punishment of it attached to himself or his son, would yet tremble for his grandson. Besides, if after the time of committing his offence he was not speedily seized by some festering sore, such as our nation was extremely subject to, he would experience it in a course of years. Calamities are always occurring in a family, and we, without difficulty, instilled the belief that these calamities were inflicted by the hand of God taking vengeance for secret offences.

It would be easy to reply to this answer by saying,—Your apology is worth nothing; for it happens every day that very worthy and excellent persons lose their health and their property; and, if there was no family that did not experience calamity, and that calamity at the same time was a chastisement from God, all the families of your community must have been made up of scoundrels.

The Jewish priest might again answer and say, that there are some calamities inseparable from human nature, and others expressly inflicted by the hand of God. But, in return, we should point out to such a reasoner the absurdity of considering fever and hail-stones in some cases as divine punishments; in others as mere natural effects.

In short, the Pharisees and the Essenians, among the Jews, did admit, according to certain notions of their own, the belief of a hell. This dogma had passed from the Greeks to the Romans, and was adopted by the christians.

Many of the fathers of the church rejected the doctrine of eternal punishments. It appeared to them absurd, to burn to all eternity an unfortunate man for stealing a goat. Virgil has finely said—

. Sedit eternumque sedebit
Infelix Theseus.

Unhappy Theseus, doom'd for ever there,
Is fix'd by fate on his eternal chair.—**DRYDEN.**

But it is in vain for him to maintain or imply, that Theseus is for ever fixed to his chair, and that this position constitutes his punishment. Others have imagined Theseus to be a hero, who could never be seen on any seat in hell, and who was to be found in the Elysian fields.

A Calvinistical divine, of the name of Petit Pierre, not long since preached and published the doctrine, that the damned would at some future period be pardoned. The rest of the ministers of his association told him that they wished for no such thing. The dis-

* *Æneid*, book vi. 617.

pute grew warm. It was stated, that the king whose subjects they were wrote to them, that since they were desirous of being damned without redemption, he could have no reasonable objection, and freely gave his consent. The damned majority of the church of Neufchatel ejected poor Petit Pierre, who had thus converted hell into a mere purgatory. It is stated, that one of them said to him,—“My good friend, I no more believe in the eternity of hell than yourself; but recollect that it may be no bad thing, perhaps, for your servant, your tailor, and your lawyer, to believe in it.”

I will add, as an illustration of this passage, a short address of exhortation to those philosophers who in their writings deny a hell; I will say to them:—Gentlemen, we do not pass our days with Cicero, Atticus, Marcus Aurelius, Epictetus, the chancellor de l'Hôpital, la Mothe le Vayer, Des Ivetaux, René, Descartes, Newton, or Locke, nor with the respectable Bayle, who was so superior to the power and frown of fortune, nor with the too scrupulously virtuous infidel Spinoza, who, although labouring under poverty and destitution, gave back to the children of the grand pensionary De Witt an allowance of three hundred florins, which had been granted him by that great statesman, whose heart, it may be remembered, the Hollanders actually devoured, although there was nothing to be gained by it. Every man with whom we intermingle in life is not a Des Barreaux, who paid the pleaders their fees for a cause which he had forgotten to bring into court. Every woman is not a Ninon l'Enclos, who guarded deposits in trust with religious fidelity, while the gravest personages in the state were violating them. In a word, gentlemen, all the world are not philosophers.

We are obliged to hold intercourse and transact business, and mix up in life with knaves possessing little or no reflection,—with vast numbers of persons addicted to brutality, intoxication, and rapine. You may, if you please, preach to them that there is no hell, and that the soul of man is mortal. As for myself, I will be sure to thunder in their ears, that if they rob

me they will inevitably be damned. I will imitate the country clergyman, who, having had a great number of sheep stolen from him, at length said to his hearers, in the course of one of his sermons—"I cannot conceive what Jesus Christ was thinking about when he died for such a set of scoundrels as you are."

There is an excellent book for fools, called *The Christian Pedagogue*, composed by the reverend father d'Outreman, of the society of Jesus, and enlarged by Coulon, curé of Ville-Juif-les-Paris. This book has passed, thank God, through fifty-one editions, although not a single page in it exhibits a gleam of common sense.

Friar Outreman asserts (in the hundred and fifty-seventh page of the second edition in quarto) that one of queen Elizabeth's ministers, Baron Hunsdon, predicted to Cecil, secretary of state, and to six other members of the cabinet council, that they as well as he would all be damned; which, he says, was actually the case, and is the case with all heretics. It is most likely, that Cecil, and the other members of the council, gave no credit to the said baron Hunsdon; but if the fictitious baron had said the same to six common citizens, they would probably have believed him.

Were the time ever to arrive in which no citizen of London shall believe in a hell, what course of conduct should be adopted? What restraint upon wickedness will exist?—There will exist the feeling of honour, the restraint of the laws, that of the Deity himself, whose will it is that mankind shall be just, whether there be a hell or not.

HELL (DESCENT INTO).

Our colleague who wrote the article "Hell," has made no mention of the descent of Jesus Christ into hell. This is an article of faith of high importance; it is expressly particularised in the creed of which we have already spoken. It is asked, whence this article of faith is derived; for it is not to be found in either of

our four gospels, and the creed called the Apostles' Creed, is not older than the age of those learned priests, Jérôme, Augustin, and Rufinus.

It is thought, that this descent of our Lord into hell is taken originally from the gospel of Nicodemus, one of the oldest.

In that gospel, the prince of Tartarus and Satan, after a long conversation with Adam, Enoch, Elias the Tishbite, and David, hear a voice like the thunder, and a voice like a tempest. David says to the prince of Tartarus—"Now, thou foul and miscreant prince of hell, open thy gates, and let the king of glory enter," &c. While he was thus addressing the prince, the Lord of Majesty appeared suddenly in the form of man, and he lighted up the eternal darkness, and broke asunder the indissoluble bars, and by an invincible virtue he visited those who lay in the depth of the darkness of guilt, in the shadow of the depth of sin.

Jesus Christ appeared with St. Michael: he overcame Death; he took Adam by the hand; and the good thief followed him, bearing the cross. All this took place in hell, in the presence of Carinus and Lenthius, who resuscitated, for the express purpose of giving evidence of the fact to the priest Ananias and Caiphas, and to doctor Gamaliel, at that time St. Paul's master.

This gospel of Nicodemus has long been considered as of no authority. But a confirmation of this descent into hell is found in the first epistle of St. Peter, at the close of the third chapter: "Because Christ died once for our sins, the just for the unjust, that he might offer us to God; dead indeed in the flesh, but resuscitated in spirit, by which he went to preach to the spirits that were in prison."

Many of the fathers interpreted this passage very differently, but all were agreed as to the fact of the descent of Jesus into hell after his death. A frivolous difficulty was started upon the subject. He had, while upon the cross, said to the good thief—"This day shalt thou be with me in paradise." By going to hell, therefore, he failed to perform his promise. This objec-

tion is easily answered, by saying, that he took him first to hell, and afterwards to paradise; but, then, what becomes of the stay of three days?

Eusebius of Cesarea says,* that Jesus left his body, without waiting for Death to come and seize it; and that, on the contrary, he seized on Death, who, in terror and agony embraced his feet, and afterwards attempted to escape by flight, but was prevented by Jesus, who broke down the gates of the dungeons which inclosed the souls of the saints, drew them forth from their confinement, resuscitated them, then resuscitated himself, and conducted them in triumph to that heavenly Jerusalem *which descended from heaven every night*, and was actually seen by the astonished eyes of St. Justin.

It was a question much disputed, whether all those who were resuscitated died again before they ascended into heaven. St. Thomas, in his "Summary," asserts that they died again. This also is the opinion of the discriminating and judicious Calmet. "We maintain," says he, in his dissertation on this great question, "that the saints who were resuscitated, after the death of the Saviour died again, in order to revive hereafter."

God had permitted, ages before, that the profane gentiles should imitate in anticipation these sacred truths. The ancients imagined, that the gods resuscitated Pelops; that Orpheus extricated Eurydice from hell, at least for a moment; that Hercules delivered Alcestes from it; that Esculapius resuscitated Hippolytus, &c. &c. Let us ever discriminate between fable and truth, and keep our minds in the same subjection with respect to whatever surprises and astonishes us, as with respect to whatever appears perfectly conformable to their circumscribed and narrow views.

HERESY.

SECTION I.

A GREEK word, signifying "belief, or elected opinion." It is not greatly to the honour of human rea-

* Gospel, chap. ii.

son, that men should be hated, persecuted, massacred, or burnt at the stake, on account of their chosen opinions; but what is exceedingly little to our honour is, that this mischievous and destructive madness has been as peculiar to us as leprosy was to the Hebrews, or lues formerly to the Caribs.

We well know, theologically speaking, that heresy having become a crime, as even the word itself is a reproach; we well know, I say, that the Latin church, which alone can possess reason, has also possessed the right of reproofing all who were of a different opinion from her own.

On the other side, the Greek church had the same right;* accordingly, it reproved the Romans when they chose a different opinion from the Greeks on the procession of the Holy Spirit, the viands which might be taken in lent, the authority of the pope, &c. &c.

But upon what ground did any arrive finally at the conclusion that, when they were the strongest, they might burn those who entertained chosen opinions of their own? Those who had such opinions were undoubtedly criminal in the sight of God, since they were obstinate. They will, therefore, as no one can possibly doubt, be burnt to all eternity in another world; but why burn them by a slow fire in this? The sufferers have represented that such conduct is an usurpation of the jurisdiction of God; that this punishment is very hard and severe, considered as an infliction by men; and that it is, moreover, of no utility, since one hour of suffering added to eternity is an absolute cypher.

The pious inflictors, however, replied to these reproaches, that nothing was more just than to put upon burning coals whoever had a self-formed opinion; that to burn those whom God himself would burn, was in fact a holy conformity to God; and finally, that since, by admission, the burning for an hour or two was a mere cypher in comparison with eternity, the burning of five or six provinces for chosen opinions—

* See under the article COUNCIL, the Councils of Constantinople.

for heresies—was a matter in reality of very little consequence.

In the present day it is asked, among what cannibals have these questions been agitated, and their solutions proved by facts? It was, we must admit with sorrow and humiliation, even among ourselves, and in the very same cities where nothing is minded but operas, comedies, balls, fashions, and intrigue.

Unfortunately, it was a tyrant who introduced the practice of destroying heretics. Not one of those equivocal tyrants who are regarded as saints by one party, and monsters by another, but one Maximus, competitor of Theodosius I. a decided tyrant, in the strictest meaning of the term, over the whole empire.

He destroyed at Treves, by the hands of the executioner, the Spaniard Priscillian and his adherents, whose opinions were pronounced erroneous by some bishops of Spain.* These prelates solicited the capital punishment of the Priscillianists with a charity so ardent, that Maximus could refuse them nothing. It was by no means owing to them that St. Martin was not beheaded as a heretic. He was fortunate enough to quit Treves, and escape back to Tours.

A single example is sufficient to establish a usage. The first Scythian who scooped out the brains of his enemy, and made a drinking-cup of his skull, was followed by all the rank and consequence in Scythia. Thus was consecrated the practice of employing the executioner to cut off "opinions."

No such thing as heresy existed among the religions of antiquity, because they had reference only to moral conduct and public worship. When metaphysics became connected with christianity, controversy prevailed; and from controversy arose different parties, as in the schools of philosophy. It was impossible that metaphysics should not mingle the uncertainties essential to their nature with the faith due to Jesus Christ. He had himself written nothing; and his incarnation was a problem which the new christians, whom he

* History of the Church, fourth century.

had not himself inspired, solved in many different ways. "Each," as St. Paul expressly observes, "had his peculiar party;* some were for Apollos, others for Cephas."

Christians in general, for a long time, assumed the name of Nazarenes, and even the gentiles gave them no other appellations during the two first centuries. But there soon arose a particular school of Nazarenes; who believed a gospel different from the four canonical ones. It has even been pretended that this gospel differed only very slightly from that of St. Matthew, and was in fact anterior to it. St. Epiphanius and St. Jerome place the Nazarenes in the cradle of christianity.

Those who considered themselves as knowing more than the rest, took the denomination of gnostics, "knowers;" and this denomination was for a long time so honourable, that St. Clement of Alexandria, in his "Stromata†," always calls the good christians true gnostics. "Happy are they who have entered into the gnostic holiness! He who deserves the name of gnostic‡, resists seducers, and gives to every one that asks."

The fifth and sixth books of the "Stromata" turn entirely upon the perfection of gnosticism.

The Ebionites existed incontestably in the time of the apostles. That name, which signifies "poor," was intended to express how dear to them was the poverty in which Jesus was born§.

Cerinthus was equally ancient||. The Apocalypse of St. John was attributed to him. It is even thought that St. Paul and he had violent disputes with each other.

* Corinthians, i. 11, 12.

† Book i. No. 7.

‡ Book iv. No. 4.

§ It does not seem at all likely that the other christians called them Ebionites, in order to indicate "poverty of understanding." It is stated that this sect believed Jesus to be the son of Joseph.

|| Cerinthus and his followers held that Jesus did not become Christ till after his baptism. Cerinthus was the author of the doctrine of the "Millenium," or the reign of a thousand years, which was embraced by so many fathers of the church.

It seems to our weak understandings very natural to expect from the first disciples a solemn declaration, a complete and unalterable profession of faith, which might terminate all past, and preclude any future quarrels; but God permitted it not so to be. The creed called the Apostles' Creed, which is short, and in which are not to be found the consubstantiality, the word trinity, or the seven sacraments, did not make its appearance before the time of St. Jerome, St. Augustin, and the celebrated priest Rufinus. It was by this priest, the enemy of St. Jerome, that we are told it was compiled.

Heresies had had time to multiply, and more than fifty were enumerated as existing in the fifth century.

Without daring to scrutinize the ways of providence, which are impenetrable by the human mind, and merely consulting, as far as we are permitted, our feeble reason, it would seem that of so many opinions, on so many articles, there would always exist one which must prevail, which was the orthodox, "the right of teaching." The other societies, besides the really orthodox, soon assumed that title also; but being the weaker parties, they had given to them the designation of "heretics."

When, in the progress of time, the christian church in the east, which was the mother of that in the west, had irreparably broken with her daughter, each remained sovereign in her distinct sphere, and each had her particular heresies, arising out of the dominant opinion.

The barbarians of the north, having but recently become christians, could not entertain the same opinions as southern countries, because they could not adopt the same usages. They could not, for example, for a long time, adore images, as they had neither painters nor sculptors. It also was somewhat dangerous to baptise an infant in winter, in the Danube, the Weser, or the Elbe.

It was no easy matter for the inhabitants of the shores of the Baltic to know precisely the opinions held in the Milanese and the march of Ancona. The people of the south and of the north of Europe had therefore

chosen opinions different from each other. This seems to me to be the reason why Claude, bishop of Turin, preserved in the ninth century all the usages and dogmas received in the seventh and eighth, from the country of the Allobroges, as far as the Elbe and the Danube.

These dogmas and usages became fixed and permanent among the inhabitants of valleys and mountainous recesses, and near the banks of the Rhone, among a sequestered and almost unknown people, whom the general desolation left untouched in their seclusion and poverty, until they at length became known, under the name of the Vaudois in the twelfth, and that of the Albigenses in the thirteenth century. It is known how their chosen opinions were treated; what crusades were preached against them; what carnage was made among them; and that, from that period to the present day, Europe has not enjoyed a single year of tranquillity and toleration.

It is a great evil to be a heretic; but is it a great good to maintain orthodoxy by soldiers and executioners? Would it not be better that every man should eat his bread in peace under the shade of his own fig-tree? I suggest so bold a proposition with fear and trembling.

SECTION II.

Of the Extirpation of Heresies.

It appears to me that, in relation to heresies, we ought to distinguish between opinion and faction. From the earliest times of christianity, opinions were divided, as we have already seen. The christians of Alexandria did not think, on many points, like those of Antioch. The Achaïans were opposed to the Asiatics. This difference has existed through all past periods of our religion, and probably will always continue. Jesus Christ, who might have united all believers in the same sentiment, has not, in fact, done so; we must, therefore, presume that he did not desire it, and that it was his design to exercise in all churches the spirit of indulgence and charity, by permitting the

existence of different systems of faith, while all should be united in acknowledging him for their chief and master. All the varying sects, a long while tolerated by the emperors, or concealed from their observation, had no power to persecute and proscribe each other, as they were all equally subject to the Roman magistrates. They possessed only the power of disputing with each other. When the magistrates prosecuted them, they all claimed the rights of nature. They said: Permit us to worship God in peace; do not deprive us of the liberty you allow to the Jews.

All the different sects existing at present may hold the same language to those who oppress them. They may say to the nations who have granted privileges to the Jews: Treat us as you treat these sons of Jacob: let us, like them, worship God according to the dictates of conscience. Our opinion is not more injurious to your state or realm than Judaism. You tolerate the enemies of Jesus Christ; tolerate us, therefore, who adore Jesus Christ, and differ from yourselves only upon subtle points of theology; do not deprive yourselves of the services of useful subjects. It is of consequence to you to obtain their labour and skill in your manufactures, your marine, and your agriculture, and it is of no consequence at all to you that they hold a few articles of faith different from your own. What you want is their work, and not their catechism.

Faction is a thing perfectly different. It always happens, as a matter of necessity, that a persecuted sect degenerates into a faction. The oppressed unite, and console and encourage one another. They have more industry to strengthen their party than the dominant sect has for their extermination. To crush them or be crushed by them is the inevitable alternative. Such was the case after the persecution raised in 303 by the Cæsar Galerius, during the two last years of the reign of Dioclesian. The christians, after having been favoured by Dioclesian for the long period of eighteen years, had become too numerous and wealthy to be extirpated. They joined the party of Constan-

tius Chlorus: they fought for Constantine his son; and a complete revolution took place in the empire.

We may compare small things to great, when both are under the direction of the same principle or spirit. A similar revolution happened in Holland, in Scotland, and in Switzerland. When Ferdinand and Isabella expelled from Spain the Jews,—who were settled there not merely before the reigning dynasty, but before the Moors and Goths, and even the Carthaginians,—the Jews would have effected a revolution in that country, if they had been as warlike as they were opulent, and if they could have come to an understanding with the Arabs.

In a word, no sect has ever changed the government of a country but when it was furnished with arms by despair. Mahomet himself would not have succeeded, had he not been expelled from Mecca and a price set upon his head.

If you are desirous, therefore, to prevent the overthrow of a state by any sect, shew it toleration. Imitate the wise conduct exhibited at the present day by Germany, England, Holland, Denmark, and Russia. There is no other policy to be adopted with respect to a new sect, than to destroy, without remorse, both leaders and followers, men, women, and children, without a single exception, or to tolerate them when they are numerous. The first method is that of a monster, the second that of a sage.

Bind to the state all the subjects of that state by their interest: let the Quaker and the Turk find their advantage in living under your laws. Religion is between God and man; civil law is between you and your people.

SECTION III.

It is impossible not to regret the loss of a History of Heresies which Strategius wrote by order of Constantine. Ammianus Marcellinus* informs us, that the emperor, wishing to ascertain the opinions of the different

* Book xv. chap. 13.

sects, and not finding any other person who could give correct ideas on the subject, imposed the office of drawing up a report or narrative upon it on that officer, who acquitted himself so well, that Constantine was desirous of his being honoured in consequence with the name of Musonianus. M. de Valois, in his notes upon Ammianus, observes that Strategius, who was appointed prefect of the east, possessed as much knowledge and eloquence, as moderation and mildness; such, at least, is the eulogium passed upon him by Libanius.

The choice of a layman by the emperor shows that an ecclesiastic at that time had not the qualities indispensable for a task so delicate. In fact, St. Augustin* remarks, that a bishop of Bresse, called Philastrius, whose work is to be found in the collection of the fathers, having collected all the heresies, even including those which existed among the Jews before the coming of Jesus Christ, reckons twenty-eight of the latter and one hundred and twenty-eight from the coming of Christ; while St. Epiphanius, comprising both together, makes the whole number but eighty. The reason assigned by St. Augustin for this difference is, that what appears heresy to the one, does not appear so to the other. Accordingly, this father tells the Manicheans,†—"We take the greatest care not to treat you with rigour; such conduct we leave to those who know not what pains are necessary for the discovery of truth, and how difficult it is to avoid falling into errors; we leave it to those who know not with what sighs and groans even a very slight knowledge of the divine nature is alone to be acquired. For my own part, I consider it my duty to bear with you as I was borne with formerly myself, and to show you the same tolerance which I experienced when I was in error."

If however any one considers the infamous imputations, which we have noticed under the article GENEALOGY, and the abominations of which this professedly

* Letter ccxxii.

† Letter against the Heresy of Manes, chap. 2 and 3.

indulgent and candid father accused the Manicheans in the celebration of their mysteries (as we shall see under the article ZEAL) we shall be convinced that toleration was never the virtue of the clergy. We have already seen, under the article COUNCIL, what seditions were excited by the ecclesiastics in relation to Arianism. Eusebius informs us,* that in some places the statues of Constantine were thrown down, because he wished the Arians to be tolerated; and Sozomen says,† that on the death of Eusebius of Nicomedia, when Macedonius, an Arian, contested the see of Constantinople with Paul, a catholic, the disturbance and confusion became so dreadful in the church, from which each endeavoured to expel the other, that the soldiers, thinking the people in a state of insurrection, actually charged upon them; a fierce and sanguinary conflict ensued, and more than three thousand persons were slain or suffocated. Macedonius ascended the episcopal throne, took speedy possession of all the churches, and persecuted with great cruelty the Novatians and Catholics. It was in revenge against the latter of these that he denied the divinity of the holy spirit, just as he recognised the divinity of the word, which was denied by the Arians out of mere defiance to their protector Constantius, who had deposed him.

The same historian adds,‡ that on the death of Athanasius, the Arians, supported by Valens, apprehended, bound in chains, and put to death those who remained attached to Peter, whom Athanasius had pointed out as his successor. Alexandria resembled a city taken by assault. The Arians soon possessed themselves of the churches, and the bishop, installed by them, obtained the power of banishing from Egypt all who remained attached to the Nicæan creed.

We read in Socrates,§ that, after the death of Sisinnius, the church of Constantinople became again divided on the choice of a successor, and Theodosius the

* Life of Constantine, book iii. chap. 4.

† Ibid, book iv. chap. 21.

‡ Ibid, book vi. chap. 20.

§ Book vii. chap. 29.

younger placed in the patriarchal see the violent and fiery Nestorius. In his first sermon he addresses the following language to the emperor:—"Give me the land purged of heretics, and I will give you the kingdom of heaven; second me in the extermination of heretics, and I engage to furnish you with effectual assistance against the Persians." He afterwards expelled the Arians from the capital, armed the people against them, pulled down their churches, and obtained from the emperor rigorous and persecuting edicts to effect their extirpation. He employed his powerful influence subsequently in procuring the arrest, imprisonment, and even whipping the principal persons among the people, who had interrupted him in the middle of a discourse, in which he was delivering his distinguishing system of doctrine, which was soon condemned at the council of Ephesus.

Photius relates,* that when the priest reached the altar, it was customary in the church of Constantinople for the people to chaunt,—“Holy God, powerful God, immortal God;” and the name given to this part of the service was “the trisagion.” The priest Peter, had added—“Who hast been crucified for us, have mercy upon us.” The catholics considered this addition as containing the error of the Eutychian Theopathists, who maintained that the divinity had suffered; they, however, chaunted the trisagion with the addition, to avoid irritating the emperor Anastasius, who had just deposed another Macedonius, and placed in his stead Timotheus, by whose order this addition was ordered to be chaunted. But on a particular day the monks entered the church, and, instead of the addition in question, chaunted a verse from one of the psalms: the people instantly exclaimed—“The orthodox have arrived very seasonably!” All the partisans of the council of Chalcedon chaunted, in union with the monks, the verse from the psalm; the Eutychians were offended; the service was interrupted, a battle commenced in the church; the people rushed out, obtained arms as

* Bibliotheca, chap. 222.

speedily as possible, spread carnage and conflagration through the city, and were pacified only by the destruction of ten thousand lives.*

The imperial power at length established through all Egypt the authority of this council of Chalcedon; but the massacre of more than a hundred thousand Egyptians, on different occasions, for having refused to acknowledge the council, had planted in the hearts of the whole population an implacable hatred against the emperors. A part of those who were hostile to the council withdrew to Upper Egypt, others quitted altogether the dominions of the empire, and passed over to Africa and among the Arabs, where all religions were tolerated.†

We have already observed, that under the reign of the empress Irene, the worship of images was re-established and confirmed by the second council of Nice. Leo the Armenian, Michael the stammerer, and Theophilus neglected nothing to effect its abolition; and this opposition caused farther disturbance in the empire of Constantinople, till the reign of the empress Theodora, who gave the force of law to the second council of Nice, extinguished the party of Iconoclasts, or image-breakers, and exerted the utmost extent of her authority against the Manicheans. She dispatched orders throughout the empire to seek for them everywhere, and put all those to death who would not recant. More than a hundred thousand perished by different modes of execution.‡ Four thousand, who escaped from this severe scrutiny and extensive punishment, took refuge among the Saracens, united their own strength with theirs, ravaged the territories of the empire, and erected fortresses in which the Manicheans, who had remained concealed through terror of capital punishment, found an asylum, and constituted a hostile force, formidable from their numbers, and from their burning hatred both of the emperors and catholics.

* Evagras—Life of Theodosius, book iii. chap. 33 and 44.

† History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, p. 164.

‡ See the article INQUISITION.

They frequently inflicted on the territories of the empire dread and devastation, and cut to pieces its disciplined armies.*

We abridge the details of these dreadful massacres: those of Ireland, those of the valleys of Piedmont, those which we shall speak of under the article INQUISITION, and, lastly, the massacre of St. Barthomew, displayed in the west the same spirit of intolerance, against which nothing more pertinent and sensible has been written than what we find in the works of Salvian.

The following is the language employed respecting the followers of one of the principal heresies by this excellent priest of Marseilles, who was surnamed the master of bishops, who deplored with bitterness the violence and vices of his age, and who was called the Jeremiah of the fifth century. "The Arians," says he, "are heretics; but they do not know it; they are heretics among us, but they are not so among themselves; for they consider themselves so perfectly and completely catholic, that they treat us as heretics. We are convinced that they entertain an opinion injurious to the divine generation, inasmuch as they say that the son is less than the father. They, on the other hand, think that we hold an opinion injurious to the father because we regard the father and the son equal. The truth is with us, but they consider it as favouring them. We give to God the honour which is due to him, but they, according to their peculiar way of thinking, maintain that they do the same. They do not acquit themselves of their duty; but in the very point where they fail in doing so, they make the greatest duty of religion consist. They are impious, but even in being so they consider themselves as following, and as practising, genuine piety. They are then mistaken, but from a principle of love to God; and, although they have not the true faith, they regard that which they have actually embraced as the perfect love of God.

"The sovereign judge of the universe alone knows

* Dupin—Bibliotheca. Ninth century.

how they will be punished for their errors in the day of judgment. In the meantime he patiently bears with them, because he sees, that if they are in error, they err from pure motives of piety."

HERMES.

Hermes or Ermes, Mercury Trismegistus, or Thaut, Taut, or Thot.

WE neglect reading the ancient book of Mercury Trismegistus, and we are not wrong in so doing. To philosophers it has appeared a sublime piece of jargon, and it is perhaps for this reason that they believed it the work of a great Platonist.

Nevertheless, in this theological chaos, how many things there are to astonish and subdue the human mind! God, whose triple essence is wisdom, power, and bounty; God, forming the world by his thought, his word; God creating subaltern gods; God commanding these gods to direct the celestial orbs, and to preside over the world; the sun; the son of God; man his image in thought; light, his principal work a divine essence;—all these grand and lively images dazzle a subdued imagination.

It remains to be known whether this work, as much celebrated as little read, was the work of a Greek or of an Egyptian. St. Augustin hesitates not in believing that it is the work of an Egyptian, who pretended to be descended from the ancient Mercury, from the ancient Thaut, the first legislator of Egypt. It is true that St. Augustin knew no more of the Egyptian than of the Greek; but in his time it was necessary that we should not doubt that Hermes, from whom we received theology, was an Egyptian sage, probably anterior to the time of Alexander, and one of the priests whom Plato consulted.

It has always appeared to me, that the theology of Plato in nothing resembled that of other Greeks, with the exception of Timeus, who had travelled in Egypt, as well as Pythagoras.

The Hermes Trismegistus that we possess, is written

in barbarous Greek, and in a foreign idiom. This is a proof that it is a translation in which the words have been followed more than the sense.

Joseph Scaliger, who assisted the lord of Candale, bishop of Aire, to translate the Hermes, or Mercury Trismegistus, doubts not that the original was Egyptian. Add to these reasons, that it is not very probable that a Greek would have addressed himself so often to Thaut. It is not natural for us to address ourselves to strangers with so much warm-heartedness; at least we see no example of it in antiquity.

The Egyptian Esculapius, who is made to speak in this book, and who is perhaps the author of it, wrote to Ammon, king of Egypt:—"Take great care how you suffer the Greeks to translate the books of our Mercury, our Thaut, because they would disfigure them." Certainly a Greek would not have spoken thus; there is therefore every appearance of this book being Egyptian.

There is another reflection to be made, which is, that the systems of Hermes and Plato were equally formed to extend themselves through all the Jewish schools, from the time of the Ptolemies. This doctrine made great progress in them; you see it completely displayed by the Jew Philo, a learned man after the manner of those times.

He copies entire passages from Mercury Trismegistus, in his chapter on the formation of the world. "Firstly," says he, "God made the world intelligible the heavens incorporeal, and the earth invisible; he afterwards created the incorporeal essence of water and spirit; and finally, the essence of incorporeal light, the origin of the sun, and of the stars."

Such is the pure doctrine of Hermes. He adds, that the word, or invisible and intellectual thought, is the image of God. Here is the creation of the world by the word, by thought, by the logos, very strongly expressed.

Afterwards follows the doctrine of Numbers, which descended from the Egyptians to the Jews. He calls reason the relation of God. The number of seven is

the accomplishment of all things, "which is the reason," says he, "that the lyre has only seven strings."

In a word, Philo possessed all the philosophy of his time.

We are therefore deceived, when we believe that the Jews, under the reign of Herod, were plunged in the same state of ignorance in which they were previously immersed. It is evident that St. Paul was well informed. It is only necessary to read the first chapter of St. John, which is so different from those of the others, to perceive that the author wrote precisely like Hermes and Plato. "In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him, and without him was not anything made. In him was life; and the life was the light of man."

It is thus that St. Paul says,—“that God made the worlds by his Son.”*

In the time of the apostles were seen whole societies of christians who were only too learned and thence substituted a fantastic philosophy for simplicity of faith. The Simons, Menanders, and Cerinthus, taught precisely the doctrines of Hermes. Their Æons were only the subaltern gods, created by the great Being. All the first christians, therefore, were not ignorant men, as it always has been asserted; since there were several of them who abused their literature: even in the Acts, the governor Festus says to St. Paul, —“Paul thou art beside thyself; much learning doth make thee mad.”

Cerinthus dogmatised in the time of St. John the evangelist. His errors were of a profound, refined, and metaphysical cast. The faults which he remarked in the construction of the world made him think,—at least so says Dr. Dupin,—that it was not the sovereign God who created it, but a virtue inferior to this first principle, which had not the knowledge of the sovereign God. This was wishing to correct even the system of

* Epistle to the Hebrews, chap. i., ii.

Plato, and deceiving himself, both as a christian and a philosopher ; but at the same time it displayed a refined and well-exercised mind.

It is the same with the primitives called quakers, of whom we have so much spoken. They have been taken for men who cannot see beyond their noses, and who make no use of their reason. However, there have been among them several who employed all the subtleties of logic. Enthusiasm is not always the companion of total ignorance, it is often that of erroneous information.

HISTORIOGRAPHER:

A TITLE very different from that of historian. In France we commonly see men of letters pensioned, and, as it was said formerly, appointed to write history. Alain Chartier was the historiographer of Charles VII.; he says that he interrogated the domestics of this prince, and put them on their oaths, according to the duty of his charge, to ascertain whether Charles really had Agnes Sorel for his mistress. He concludes, that nothing free ever passed between these lovers ; and that all was reduced to a few honest caresses, to which these domestics had been the innocent witnesses. However it is proved, not by historiographers, but by historians supported by family titles, that Charles VII. had three daughters by Agnes Sorel, the eldest of whom, married to one Breze, was stabbed by her husband. From this time there were often titled historiographers in France, and it was the custom to give them commissions of councillors of state, with the provisions of their charge. They were commensal officers of the king's house. Matthieu had these privileges under Henry IV. but did not therefore write a better history.

At Venice it is always a noble of the senate who possesses this title and function, and the celebrated Nani has filled them with general approbation. It is very difficult for the historiographer of a prince not to be a liar ; that of a republic flatters less ; but he does

not tell all the truth. At China historiographers are charged with collecting all the events and original titles, under a dynasty. They throw the leaves numbered into a vast hall, through an orifice resembling the lion's mouth at Venice, into which is cast all secret intelligence. When the dynasty is extinct the hall is opened, and the materials digested, of which an authentic history is composed. The general journal of the empire also serves to form the body of history; this journal is superior to our newspapers, being made under the superintendence of the mandarins of each province, revised by a supreme tribunal, and every piece bearing an authenticity which is decisive in contentious matters.

Every sovereign chose his own historiographer. Vittorio Siri was one; Pelisson was first chosen by Louis XIV. to write the events of his reign, and acquitted himself of his task with eloquence in the History of Franche Comté. Racine, the most elegant of poets, and Boileau, the most correct, were afterwards substituted for Pelisson. Some curious persons have collected Memoirs of the Passage of the Rhine, written by Racine. We cannot judge by these memoirs whether Louis XIV. passed the Rhine or not with his troops, who swam across the river. This example sufficiently demonstrates how rarely it happens that an historiographer dare tell the truth. Several also, who have possessed this title, have taken good care of writing history; they have followed the example of Amyot, who said that he was too much attached to his masters to write their lives. Father Daniel had the patent of historiographer, after having given his History of France; he had a pension of 600 livres, regarded merely as a suitable stipend for a monk.

It is very difficult to assign true bounds to the arts, sciences, and literary labour. Perhaps it is the proper duty of an historiographer to collect materials, and that of an historian to put them in order. The first can amass everything, the second arrange and select. The historiographer is more of the simple

annalist, while the historian seems to have a more open field for reflection and eloquence.

We need scarcely say here, that both should equally tell the truth, but we can examine this great law of Cicero:—"Ne quid veri tacere non audeat,"—That we ought not to dare to conceal any truth. This rule is of the number of those that want illustration. Suppose a prince confides to his historiographer an important secret to which his honour is attached, or that the good of the state requires should not be revealed,—should the historiographer or historian break his word with the prince, or betray his country to obey Cicero? The curiosity of the public seems to exact it; honour and duty forbid it. Perhaps in this case he should renounce writing history.

If a truth dishonours a family, ought the historiographer or historian to inform the public of it? No; doubtless he is not bound to reveal the shame of individuals; history is no satire.

But if this scandalous truth belongs to public events, if it enters into the interests of the state; if it has produced evils of which it imports to know the cause, it is then that the maxim of Cicero should be observed; for this law is like all others, which must be executed, tempered, or neglected, according to circumstances.

Let us beware of this humane respect, when treating of acknowledged public faults, prevarications, and injustices, into which the misfortunes of the times have betrayed respectable bodies. They cannot be too much exposed; they are beacons which warn these always-existing bodies against splitting again on similar rocks. If an English parliament has condemned a man of fortune to the torture; if an assembly of theologians had demanded the blood of an unfortunate who differed in opinion from themselves, it should be the duty of an historian to inspire all ages with horror for these juridical assassins. We should always make the Athenians blush for the death of Soorates.

Happily, even an entire people always find it good to have the crimes of their ancestors placed before them; they like to condemn them, and to believe them-

selves superior. The historiographer or historian encourages them in these sentiments, and, in retracing the wars of government and religion, prevents their repetition.

HISTORY.

SECTION I.

Definition of History.

HISTORY is the recital of facts represented as true. Fable, on the contrary, is the recital of facts represented as fiction.

There is the history of human opinions, which is scarcely anything more than the history of human errors.

The history of the arts may be made the most useful of all, when to a knowledge of their invention and progress, it adds a description of their mechanical means and processes.

Natural history, improperly designated 'history,' is an essential part of natural philosophy. The history of events has been divided into sacred and profane. Sacred history is a series of divine and miraculous operations, by which it has pleased God formerly to direct and govern the Jewish nation, and, in the present day, to try our faith. To learn Hebrew, the sciences, and history, says La Fontaine, is to drink up the sea.

Si j'apprenois l'Hebreu, les sciences, l'histoire,
Tout cela, c'est la mer à boire.

LA FONTAINE, book viii. fable 25.

The Foundations of History.

The foundations of all history are the recitals of events, made by fathers to their children, and afterwards transmitted from one generation to another. They are, at most, only probable in their origin when they do not shock common sense, and they lose a degree of probability at every successive transmission. With time, the fabulous increases and the true disappears; hence it arises that the original traditions and records of all nations are absurd. Thus the Egyptians had been governed for many ages by the gods. They

had next been under the government of demi-gods; and, finally, they had kings for eleven thousand three hundred and forty years, and, during that period, the sun had changed four times from east and west.

The Phenicians, in the time of Alexander, pretended that they had been settled in their own country for thirty thousand years; and those thirty thousand years were as full of prodigies as the Egyptian chronology. I admit it to be perfectly consistent with physical possibility that Phenicia may have existed, not merely for thirty thousand years, but thirty thousand millions of ages, and that it may have endured, as well as the other portions of the globe, thirty millions of revolutions. But of all this we possess no knowledge.

The ridiculous miracles which abound in the ancient history of Greece are universally known.

The Romans, although a serious and grave people, have, nevertheless, equally involved in fables the early periods of their history. That nation, so recent in comparison with those of Asia, was five hundred years without historians. It is impossible, therefore, to be surprised on finding that Romulus was the son of Mars; that a she-wolf was his nurse; that he marched with a thousand men from his own village, Rome, against twenty thousand warriors belonging to the city of the Sabines; that he afterwards became a god; that the elder Tarquin cut through a stone with a razor, and that a vestal drew a ship to land with her girdle, &c.

The first annals of modern nations are no less fabulous: things prodigious and improbable ought sometimes, undoubtedly, to be related, but only as proofs of human credulity. They constitute part of the history of human opinion and absurdities; but the field is too immense.

Of Monuments or Memorials.

The only proper method of endeavouring to acquire some knowledge of ancient history, is to ascertain whether there remain any incontestable public monuments. We possess only three such, in the way of writing or in-

scriptio. The first is the collection of astronomical observations made during nineteen hundred successive years at Babylon, and transferred by Alexander to Greece. This series of observations, which goes back two thousand two hundred and thirty-four years beyond our vulgar era, decidedly proves that the Babylonians existed as an associated and incorporated people many ages before; for the arts are struck out and elaborated only in the slow course of time, and the indolence natural to mankind permits thousands of years to roll away without their acquiring any other knowledge or talents than what are required for food, clothing, shelter, and mutual destruction. Let the truth of these remarks be judged of from the state of the Germans and the English in the time of Cæsar, from that of the Tartars at the present day, from that of two-thirds of Africa, and from that of all the various nations found in the vast continent of America, excepting, in some respects, the kingdoms of Peru and Mexico, and the republic of Thlascala. Let it be recollected, that in the whole of the new world not a single individual could write or read.

The second monument is the central eclipse of the sun, calculated in China two thousand one hundred and fifty-five years before our vulgar era, and admitted by all our astronomers to have actually occurred. We must apply the same remark to the Chinese as to the people of Babylon. They had undoubtedly, long before this period, constituted a vast empire and social polity. But what places the Chinese above all the other nations of the world, is that neither their laws, nor manners, nor the language exclusively spoken by their men of learning, have experienced any change in the course of about four thousand years. Yet this nation and that of India, the most ancient of all that are now subsisting, those which possess the largest and most fertile tracts of territory, those which had invented nearly all the arts almost before we were in possession even of any of them, have been always omitted, down to our time, in our pretended universal histories. And whenever a

Spaniard or a Frenchman enumerated the various nations of the globe, neither of them failed to represent his own country as the first monarchy on earth, and his king as the greatest sovereign, under the flattering hope, no doubt, that that greatest of sovereigns, after having read his book, would confer upon him a pension.

The third monument, but very inferior to the two others, is the Arundel Marbles. The chronicle of Athens was inscribed on these marbles two hundred and sixty-three years before our era, but it goes no farther back than the time of Cecrops, thirteen hundred and nineteen years beyond the time of its inscription. In the history of all antiquity, these are the only incontestable epochs that we possess.

Let us attend a little particularly to these marbles, which were brought from Greece by my lord Arundel. The chronicle contained in them commences fifteen hundred and seventy-seven years before our era. This, at the present time,* makes an antiquity of 3348 years, and in the course of that period you do not find a single miraculous or prodigious event on record. It is the same with the Olympiads. It must not be in reference to these that the expression can be applied of "*Grecia mendax*," lying Greece. The Greeks well knew how to distinguish history from fable, and real facts from the tales of Herodotus; just as in relation to important public affairs, their orators borrowed nothing from the discourses of the sophists or the imagery of the poets.

The date of the taking of Troy is specified in these marbles, but there is no mention made of Apollo's arrows, or the sacrifice of Iphigenia, or the ridiculous battles of the gods. The date of the inventions of Triptolemus and Ceres is given; but Ceres is not called goddess. Notice is taken of a poem upon the rape of Proserpine; but it is not said that she is the daughter of Jupiter and a goddess, and the wife of the god of hell.

Hercules is initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries,

but not a single word is mentioned of the twelve labours, nor of his passage to Africa in his cup, nor of his divinity, nor of the great fish by which he was swallowed, and which, according to Lycophron, kept him in its belly three days and three nights.

Among us, on the contrary, a standard is brought by an angel from heaven to the monks of St. Dennis; a pigeon brings a bottle of oil to the church of Rheims; two armies of serpents engage in pitched battle in Germany; an archbishop of Mayence is besieged and devoured by rats; and to complete and crown the whole, the year in which these adventures occurred is given with the most particular precision. The abbé Langlet, also condescending to compile, compiles these contemptible fooleries, while the almanacks, for the hundredth time, repeat them. In this manner are our youth instructed and enlightened; and all these trumpery fables are put in requisition even for the education of princes!

All history is comparatively recent. It is by no means astonishing to find, that we have, in fact, no profane history that goes back beyond about four thousand years. The cause of this is to be found in the revolutions of the globe, and the long and universal ignorance of the art which transmits events by writing. There are still many nations totally unacquainted with the practice of this art. It existed only in a small number of civilized states, and even in them was confined to comparatively few hands. Nothing was more rare among the French and Germans than knowing how to write: down to the fourteenth century of our vulgar era, scarcely any public acts were attested by witnesses. It was not till the reign of Charles VII. in France, in 1454, that an attempt was made to reduce to writing some of the customs of France. The art was still more uncommon among the Spaniards, and hence it arises that their history is so dry and doubtful till the time of Ferdinand and Isabella. We perceive, from what has been said, with what facility the very small number of persons who possessed the art of writing might impose by means of it, and how easy

it has been to produce a belief of the most enormous absurdities.

There have been nations who have subjugated a considerable part of the world, and who yet have not been acquainted with the use of characters. We know that Gengis-kan conquered a part of Asia in the beginning of the thirteenth century; but it is not from him, nor from the Tartars, that we have derived that knowledge. Their history, written by the Chinese, and translated by father Gaubil, states that these Tartars were, at that time, unacquainted with the art of writing.

This art was, unquestionably, not likely to be less unknown to the Scythian Ogus-kan, called by the Persians and Greeks Madies, who conquered a part of Europe and Asia long before the reign of Cyrus. It is almost a certainty, that at that time, out of a hundred nations, there were only two or three that employed characters. It is undoubtedly possible, that in an ancient world destroyed, mankind were acquainted with the art of writing and the other arts, but in our world they are all of recent date.

There remain monuments of another kind, which serve to prove merely the remote antiquity of certain nations, an antiquity preceding all known epochs, and all books: these are the prodigies of architecture, such as the pyramids and palaces of Egypt, which have resisted and wearied the power of time. Herodotus, who lived two thousand two hundred years ago, and who had seen them, was unable to learn from the Egyptian priests, at what periods these structures were raised.

It is difficult to ascribe to the oldest of the pyramids, an antiquity of less than four thousand years, and, it is necessary to consider, that those ostentatious piles, erected by monarchs, could not have been commenced till long after the establishment of cities. But, in order to build cities in a country every year inundated, it must always be recollected, that it would have been previously necessary in this land of slime and mud, to lay the foundation upon piles, that they might thus be inaccessible to the inundation; it would have been necessary, even before taking this indis-

pensable measure of precaution, and before the inhabitants could be in a state to engage in such important and even dangerous labours, that the people should have contrived retreats, during the swelling of the Nile, between the two chains of rocks which exist on the right and left banks of the river. It would have been necessary that these collected multitudes should have instruments of tillage, and of architecture, a knowledge of architecture and surveying, regular laws, and an active police. All these things require a space of time absolutely prodigious. We see, every day, by the long details which relate even to those of our undertakings, which are most necessary and most diminutive, how difficult it is to execute works of magnitude, and that they not only require unwearied perseverance, but many generations animated by the same spirit.

However, whether we admit that one or two of those immense masses were erected by Menes, or Thaut, or Cheops, or Rameses, we shall not, in consequence, have the slightest farther insight into the ancient history of Egypt. The language of that people is lost; and all we know in reference to the subject is, that before the most ancient historians existed, there existed materials for writing ancient history.

SECTION II.

As we already possess, I had almost said, twenty thousand works, the greater number of them extending to many volumes on the subject, exclusively, of the history of France; and as, even a studious man, were he to live a hundred years, would find it impossible to read them, I think it a good thing to know where to stop. We are obliged to connect with the knowledge of our own country, the history of our neighbours. We are still less permitted to remain ignorant of the Greeks and Romans, and their laws which are become ours; but, if to this laborious study we should resolve to add that of more remote antiquity, we should resemble the man who deserted Tacitus and Livy to study seriously the Thousand and

One Nights. All the origins of nations are evidently fables. The reason is, that men must have lived long in society, and have learnt to make bread and clothing, (which would be matters of some difficulty) before they acquired the art of transmitting all their thoughts to posterity, (a matter of greater difficulty still). The art of writing is certainly not more than six thousand years old, even among the Chinese; and, whatever may be the boast of the Chaldeans and Egyptians, it appears not at all likely that they were able to read and write sooner.

The history, therefore, of preceding periods, could be transmitted only by memory; and we well know how the memory of past events changes from one generation to another. The first histories were written only from the imagination. Not only did every people invent its own origin, but it invented also the origin of the whole world.

If we may believe Sanchoniathon, the origin of things was a thick air, which was rarified by the wind; hence sprang desire and love, and from the union of desire and love were formed animals. The stars were later productions, and intended merely to adorn the heavens, and to rejoice the sight of the animals upon earth.

The Kneph of the Egyptians, their Oshiret and Iseth, which we call Osiris and Isis, are neither less ingenious nor ridiculous. The Greeks embellished all these fictions. Ovid collected them, and ornamented them with the charms of the most beautiful poetry. What he says of a god who develops or disembroils chaos, and of the formation of man, is sublime.

Sanctius his animal, mentisque capacius altæ
Deerat adhuc, et quod dominari in cætera posset.
Natus homo est . . .

OVID. *Metam.* i. v. 76.

A creature of a more exalted kind
Was wanting yet, and then was man design'd:
Conscious of thought, of more capacious breast,
For empire formed, and fit to rule the rest.

DRYDEN.

*Pronaque cum spectent animalia caetera terram ;
 Os homini sublime dedit cœlumque tueri
 Jussit, et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus.*

Metam. i. v. 84.

Thus, while the mute creation downward bend
 Their sight, and to their earthly mother tend,
 Man looks aloft, and with erected eyes
 Beholds his own hereditary skies.

DRYDEN.

Hesiod, and other writers who lived so long before, would have been very far from expressing themselves with this elegant sublimity. But, from the interesting moment of man's formation down to the era of the Olympiads, everything is plunged in profound obscurity.

Herodotus is present at the Olympic games, and, like an old woman to children, recites his narratives, or rather tales, to the assembled Greeks. He begins by saying, that the Phenicians sailed from the Red Sea into the Mediterranean; which, if true, must necessarily imply, that they had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and made the circuit of Africa.

Then comes the rape of Iö; then the fable of Gyges and Candaules; then the wondrous stories of banditti, and that of the daughter of Cheops, king of Egypt, having required a hewn stone from each of her many lovers, and obtained, in consequence, a number large enough to build one of the pyramids.

To this, add the oracles, prodigies, and frauds of priests, and you have the history of the human race.

The first periods of the Roman history, appear to have been written by Herodotus; our conquerors and legislators knew no other way of counting their years as they passed away, than by driving nails into a wall by the hand of the sacred pontiff.

The great Romulus, the king of a village, is the son of the god Mars, and a recluse, who was proceeding to a well to draw water in a pitcher. He has a god for his father, a woman of loose manners for his mother, and a she-wolf for his nurse. A buckler falls from heaven expressly for Numa. The invaluable

books of the Sibyls are found by accident. An augur, by divine permission, divides a large flint-stone with a razor. A vestal, with her mere girdle, draws into the water a large vessel that has been stranded. Castor and Pollux come down to fight for the Romans, and the marks of their horses' feet are imprinted on the stones. The transalpine Gauls advanced to pillage Rome; some relate, that they were driven away by geese, others, that they carried away with them much gold and silver; but it is probable that, at that time, in Italy, geese were far more abundant than silver. We have imitated the first Roman historians, at least in their taste for fables. We have our oriflamme, our great standard brought from heaven by an angel, and the holy phial by a pigeon; and, when to these, we add the mantle of St. Martin, we feel not a little formidable.

What would constitute useful history? That which should teach us our duties and our rights, without appearing to teach them.

It is often asked, Whether the fable of the sacrifice of Iphigenia is taken from the history of Jephtha? Whether the deluge of Deucaleon is invented in imitation of that of Noah? Whether the adventure of Philemon and Baucis is copied from that of Lot and his wife? The Jews admit that they had no communication with strangers, that their books were unknown to the Greeks, till the translation made by the order of Ptolemy. The Jews were, long before that period, money-brokers and usurers among the Greeks at Alexandria; but the Greeks never went to sell old clothes at Jerusalem. It is evident that no people imitated the Jews, and also that the Jews imitated or adopted many things from the Babylonians, the Egyptians, and the Greeks.

All Jewish antiquities are sacred in our estimation, notwithstanding the hatred and contempt in which we hold that people. We cannot indeed believe them by reason, but we bring ourselves under subjection to the Jews by faith. There are about fourscore systems in existence on the subject of their chronology, and a

far greater number of ways of explaining the events recorded in their histories ; we know not which is the true one, but we reserve our faith for it in store against the time when that true one shall be discovered.

We have so many things to believe of this sensible and magnanimous people, that all our faith is exhausted by them, and we have none left for the prodigies with which the other nations abound. Rollin may go on repeating to us the oracles of Apollo, and the miraculous achievements of Semiramis ; he may continue to transcribe all that has been narrated of the justice of those ancient Scythians who so frequently pillaged Africa, and occasionally ate men for their breakfast ; yet sensible and well-educated people will still feel and express some degree of incredulity.

What I most admire in our modern compilers is, the judgment and zeal with which they prove to us, that whatever happened in former ages, in the most extensive and powerful empires of the world, took place solely for the instruction of the inhabitants of Palestine. If the kings of Babylon, in the course of their conquests, overrun the territories of the Hebrew people, it is only to correct that people for their sins. If the monarch, who has been commonly named Cyrus, becomes master of Babylon, it is that he may grant permission to some captive Jews to return home. If Alexander conquers Darius, it is for the settlement of some Jew old-clothes-men at Alexandria. When the Romans join Syria to their vast dominions, and round their empire with the little district of Judea, this is still with a view to teach a moral lesson to the Jews. The Arabs and the Turks appear upon the stage of the world solely for the correction of this amiable people. We must acknowledge that they have had an excellent education ; never had any pupil so many preceptors. Such is the utility of history !

But what is still more instructive is, the exact justice which the clergy have dealt out to all those sovereigns with whom they were dissatisfied. Observe with what impartial candour St. Gregory of Nazianzen,

judges the emperor Julian, the philosopher. He declares that that prince, who did not believe in the existence of the devil, held secret communication with that personage, and that, on a particular occasion, when the demons appeared to him under the most hideous forms, and in the midst of the most raging flames, he drove them away by making inadvertently the sign of the cross.

He denominates him madman and wretch; he asserts, that Julian immolated young men and women every night in caves. Such is the description he gives of the most candid and clement of men, and who never exercised the slightest revenge against this same Gregory, notwithstanding the abuse and invectives with which he pursued him throughout his reign.

To apologize for the guilty, is a happy way of justifying calumny against the innocent. Compensation is thus effected; and such compensation was amply afforded by St. Gregory. The emperor Constantius, Julian's uncle and predecessor, upon his accession to the throne, had massacred Julius, his mother's brother, and his two sons, all three of whom had been declared august; this was a system which he had adopted from his father. He afterwards procured the assassination of Gallus, Julian's brother. The cruelty which he thus displayed to his own family, he extended to the empire at large; but he was a man of prayer, and, even at the decisive battle with Maxentius, he was praying to God in a neighbouring church, during the whole time in which the armies were engaged. Such was the man who was eulogized by Gregory; and, if such is the way in which the saints bring us acquainted with the truth, what may we not expect from the profane, particularly when they are ignorant, superstitious, and irritable?

At the present day, the study of history is occasionally applied to a purpose somewhat whimsical and absurd. Certain charters of the time of Dagobert are discovered and brought forward, the greater part of them of a somewhat suspicious character in point of genuineness, and ill-understood; and from these

it is inferred, that customs, rights, and prerogatives, which subsisted then, should be revived now. I would recommend it to those who adopt this method of study and reasoning, to say to the ocean, You formerly extended to Aigues-Mortes, Frejus, Ravenna, and Ferrara, return to them immediately.

SECTION III.

Of the Certainty of History.

All certainty which does not consist in mathematical demonstration, is nothing more than the highest probability: there is no other historical certainty.

When Marcus Paulo described the greatness and population of China, being the first, and for a time the only writer who had described them, he could not obtain credit. The Portuguese, who for ages afterwards had communication and commerce with that vast empire, began to render the description probable. It is now a matter of absolute certainty; of that certainty which arises from the unanimous deposition of a thousand witnesses or different nations, unopposed by the testimony of a single individual.

If merely two or three historians had described the adventure of king Charles XII. when he persisted in remaining in the territories of his benefactor the Sultan, in opposition to the orders of that monarch, and absolutely fought, with the few domestics that attended his person, against an army of janissaries and Tartars, I should have suspended my judgment about its truth; but, having spoken to many who actually witnessed the fact, and having never heard it called in question, I cannot possibly do otherwise than believe it; because, after all, although such conduct is neither wise nor common, there is nothing in it contradictory to the laws of nature, or the character of the hero.

That which is in opposition to the ordinary course of nature ought not to be believed, unless it is attested by persons evidently inspired by the divine mind, and whose inspiration, indeed, it is impossible to doubt. Hence we are justified in considering as a paradox

the assertion made under the article "Certainty," in the great Encyclopedia, that we are as much bound to believe in the resuscitation of a dead man, if all Paris were even to affirm it, as to believe all Paris when it states that we gained the battle of Fontenoy. It is clear that the evidence of all Paris, to a thing improbable, can never be equal to that evidence in favour of a probable one. These are the first principles of genuine logic. Such a dictionary as the one in question should be consecrated only to truth.*

Uncertainty of History.

Periods of time are distinguished into fabulous and historical. But even in the historical times themselves, it is necessary to distinguish truths from fables. I am not here speaking of fables, now universally admitted to be such. There is no question, for example, respecting the prodigies with which Livy has embellished, or rather defaced his history. But with respect to events generally admitted, how many reasons exist for doubt!

Let it be recollected, that the Roman republic was five hundred years without historians; that Livy himself deploras the loss of various public monuments or records, as almost all, he says, were destroyed in the burning of Rome: "*Pleraque interiere.*" Let it be considered that, in the three hundred first years, the art of writing was very uncommon: "*Raræ per eadem tempora literæ.*" Reason will be then seen for entertaining doubt on all those events which do not correspond with the usual order of human affairs.

Can it be considered very likely that Romulus, the grandson of the king of the Sabines, was compelled to carry off the Sabine women, in order to obtain for his people wives? Is the history of Lucretia highly probable? Can we easily believe, on the credit of Livy, that the king Porsenna betook himself to flight, full of admiration for the Romans, because a fanatic had pledged himself, to assassinate him? Should

* See article CERTAIN—CERTAINTY.

we not rather be inclined to rely upon Polybius, who was two hundred years earlier than Livy? Polybius informs us that Porsenna subjugated the Romans. This is far more probable than the adventure of Scevola's burning off his hand for failing in the attempt to assassinate him. I would have defied Poltrot to do as much.

Does the adventure of Regulus, inclosed within a hogshead or tub, stuck round with iron spikes, deserve belief? Would not Polybius, a contemporary, have recorded it, had it been true? He says not a single word upon the subject. Is not this a striking presumption that the story was trumped up long afterwards, to gratify the popular hatred against the Carthaginians?

Open Moreri's Dictionary, at the article "Regulus." He informs you that the torments inflicted on that Roman are recorded in Livy. The particular decade, however, in which Livy would have recorded it, if at all, is lost; and in lieu of it, we have only the supplement of Freinsheim; and thus it appears that that Dictionary has merely cited a German writer of the seventeenth century, under the idea of citing a Roman of the Augustan age. Volumes might be composed out of all the celebrated events which have been generally admitted, but which may be more fairly doubted. But the limits allowed for this article will not permit us to enlarge.

Whether Temples, Festivals, Annual Ceremonies, and even Medals, are Historic Proofs?

We might be naturally led to imagine that a monument raised by any nation in celebration of a particular event, would attest the certainty of that event: if, however, these monuments were not erected by contemporaries, or if they celebrate events that carry with them but little probability, they may often be regarded as proving nothing more than a wish to consecrate a popular opinion.

The rostral column, erected in Rome by the contemporaries of Duillius, is undoubtedly a proof of the

naval victory obtained by Duillius; but does the statue of the augur Nævius, who is said to have divided a large flint with a razor, prove that Nævius in reality performed that prodigy? Were the statues of Ceres and Triptolemus, at Athens, decisive evidences that Ceres came down from I know not what particular planet, to instruct the Athenians in agriculture? Or does the famous Laocoon, which subsists perfect to the present day, furnish incontestable evidence of the truth of the story of the Trojan horse?

Ceremonies and annual festivals observed universally throughout any nation, are, in like manner, no better proofs of the reality of the events to which they are attributed. The festival of Orion, carried on the back of a dolphin, was celebrated among the Romans as well as the Greeks. That of Faunus was in celebration of his adventure with Hercules and Omphale, when that god, being enamoured of Omphale, mistook the bed of Hercules for that of his mistress.

The famous feast of the Lupercals was instituted in honour of the she-wolf that suckled Romulus and Remus.

What was the origin of the feast of Orion, which was observed on the fifth of the ides of May? It was neither more nor less than the following adventure. Hyreus once entertained at his house the gods Jupiter, Neptune, and Mercury, and when his high and mighty guests were about to depart, the worthy host, who had no wife, and was very desirous of having a son, lamented his unfortunate fate, and expressed his anxious desire to the three divinities. We dare not exactly detail what they did to the hide of an ox which Hyreus had killed for their entertainment; however, they afterwards covered the well-soaked hide with a little earth; and hence, at the end of nine months, was born Orion.

Almost all the Roman, Syrian, Grecian, and Egyptian festivals, were founded on similar legends, as well as the temples and statues of ancient heroes. They were monuments consecrated by credulity to error.

One of our most ancient monuments is the statue of St. Denis carrying his head in his arms.

Even a medal, and a contemporary medal, is sometimes no proof. How many medals has flattery struck in celebration of battles very indecisive in themselves, but thus exalted into victories; and of enterprises, in fact, baffled and abortive, and completed only in the inscription on the metal? Finally, during the war in 1740, between the Spaniards and the English, was there not a medal struck, attesting the capture of Carthagená by Admiral Vernon, although that admiral was obliged to raise the siege?

Medals are then unexceptionable testimonies only when the event they celebrate is attested by contemporary authors; these evidences thus corroborating each other, verify the event described.

Should a Historian ascribe fictitious Speeches to his Characters, and sketch Portraits of them?

If on any particular occasion a commander of an army, or a public minister, has spoken in a powerful and impressive manner, characteristic of his genius and his age, his discourse should unquestionably be given with the most literal exactness. Speeches of this description are perhaps the most valuable part of history. But for what purpose represent a man as saying what he never did say? It would be just as correct to attribute to him acts which he never performed. It is a fiction imitated from Homer; but that which is fiction in a poem, in strict language, is a lie in the historian. Many of the ancients adopted the method in question, which merely proves that many of the ancients were fond of parading their eloquence at the expense of truth.

Of Historical Portraiture.

Portraits, also, frequently manifest a stronger desire for display, than to communicate information. Contemporaries are justifiable in drawing the portraits of statesmen with whom they have negotiated, or of

generals under whom they have fought. But how much is it to be apprehended that the pencil will in many cases be guided by the feelings? The portraits given by lord Clarendon appear to be drawn with more impartiality, gravity, and judgment, than those which we peruse with so much delight in cardinal Retz.

But to attempt to paint the ancients; to elaborate in this way the development of their minds; to regard events as characters in which we may accurately read the most secret feelings and intents of their hearts,—this is an undertaking of no ordinary difficulty and discrimination, although as frequently conducted, both childish, and trifling.

Of Cicero's Maxim concerning History, that an Historian should never dare to relate a Falsehood or to conceal a Truth.

The first part of this precept is incontestable; we must stop for a moment to examine the other. If a particular truth may be of any service to the state, your silence is censurable. But I will suppose you to write the history of a prince who had reposed in you a secret,—ought you to reveal that secret? Ought you to say to all posterity what you would be criminal in disclosing to a single individual? Should the duty of a historian prevail over the higher and more imperative duty of a man?

I will suppose again, that you have witnessed a failing or weakness which has not had the slightest influence on public affairs—ought you to publish such weakness? In such a case, history becomes satire.

It must be allowed, indeed, that the greater part of anecdote writers are more indiscreet than they are useful. But what opinion must we entertain of those impudent compilers who appear to glory in scattering about them calumny and slander, and print and sell scandals as La Voisin sold poisons?

Of Satirical History.

If Plutarch censured Herodotus for not having sufficiently extolled the fame of some of the Grecian cities,

and for omitting many known facts worthy of being recorded, how much more censurable are certain of our modern writers, who, without any of the merits of Herodotus, impute both to princes and to nations acts of the most odious character, without the slightest proof or evidence? The history of the war in 1741 has been written in England; and it relates, "that at the battle of Fontenoy the French fired at the English balls and pieces of glass which had been prepared with poison; and that the duke of Cumberland sent to the king of France a box full of those alleged poisonous articles, which had been found in the bodies of the wounded English." The same author adds, that the French having lost in that battle forty thousand men, the parliament issued an order to prevent people from talking on the subject under pain of corporal punishment.

The fraudulent *Memoirs* published not long since under the name of Madame de Maintenon, abound with similar absurdities. We are told in them, that at the siege of Lille the allies threw placards into the city, containing these words: "Frenchmen, be comforted,—Maintenon shall never be your queen."

Almost every page is polluted by false statements and abuse of the royal family and other leading families in the kingdom, without the author's making out the smallest probability to give a colour to his calumnies. This is not writing history; it is writing slanders which deserve the pillory.

A vast number of works have been printed in Holland, under the name of history, of which the style is as vulgar and coarse as the abuse, and the facts as false as they are ill narrated. This, it has been observed, is a bad fruit of the noble tree of liberty. But if the contemptible authors of this trash have the liberty thus to deceive their readers, it becomes us here to take the liberty to undeceive them.

A thirst for despicable gain, and the insolence of vulgar and grovelling manners, were the only motives which led that protestant refugee from Languedoc, of the name of Langlevieux, but commonly called La Beau-

nelle, to attempt the most infamous trick that ever disgraced literature. He sold to Eslinger, the bookseller of Frankfort, in 1751, for seventeen louis-d'or, the History of the Age of Louis XIV. which is not his; and, either to make it believed that he was the proprietor, or to earn his money, he loaded it with abusive and abominable notes against Louis XIV., his son, and his grandson the duke of Burgundy, whom he abuses in the most unmeasured terms, and calls a traitor to his grandfather and his country. He pours out upon the duke of Orleans, the regent, calumnies at once the most horrible and the most absurd; no person of consequence is spared, and yet no person of consequence did he ever know. He retails against the marshals Villars and Villeroy, against ministers, and even against ladies, all the petty, dirty, and scandalous tales that could be collected from the lowest taverns and wine-houses; and he speaks of the greatest princes as if they were amenable to himself, and under his own personal jurisdiction. He expresses himself, indeed, as if he were a formal and authorised judge of kings:—"Give me," says he, "a Stuart, and I will make him king of England."

This most ridiculous and abominable conduct, proceeding from an author obscure and unknown, has incurred no prosecution; it would have been severely punished in a man whose words would have carried any weight. But we must here observe, that these works of darkness frequently circulate through all Europe; they are sold at the fairs of Frankfort and Leipsic, and the whole of the north is overrun with them. Foreigners, who are not well informed, derive from books of this description their knowledge of modern history. German authors are not always sufficiently on their guard against memoirs of this character, but employ them as materials; which has been the case with the memoirs of Pontis, Montbrun, Rochefort, and Pordac; with all the pretended political testaments of ministers of state, which have proceeded from the pen of forgery; with the "Royal Tenth" of Boisguillebert, impudently published under the name

of marshal Vauban; and with innumerable compilations of anas and anecdotes.

History is sometimes even still more shamefully abused in England. As there are always two parties in furious hostility against each other, until some common danger for a season unites them, the writers of one faction condemn everything that the others approve. The same individual is represented as a Cato and a Catiline. How is truth to be extricated from this adulation and satire? Perhaps there is only one rule to be depended upon, which is, to believe all the good which the historian of a party ventures to allow to the leaders of the opposite faction; and all the ills which he ventures to impute to the chiefs of his own—a rule, of which neither party can severely complain.

With regard to memoirs actually written by agents in the events recorded, as those of Clarendon, Ludlow, and Burnet in England, and de La Rochefoucauld and de Retz in France, if they agree, they are true; if they contradict each other, doubt them.

With respect to anas and anecdotes, there may perhaps be one in a hundred of them that contains some shadow of truth.

SECTION IV.

Of the Method or Manner of writing History, and of Style.

We have said so much upon this subject, that we must here say very little. It is sufficiently known and fully admitted, that the method and style of Livy—his gravity, and instructive eloquence, are suitable to the majesty of the Roman republic; that Tacitus is more calculated to portray tyrants, Polybius to give lessons on war, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus to investigate antiquities.

But, while he forms himself on the general model of these great masters, a weighty responsibility is attached to the modern historian from which they were exempt. He is required to give more minute details, facts more completely authenticated, correct dates, precise antho-

rities, more attention to customs, laws, manners, commerce, finance, agriculture, and population. It is with history as it is with mathematics and natural philosophy; the field of it is immensely enlarged. The more easy it is to compile newspapers, the more difficult it is at the present day to write history.

Daniel thought himself a historian, because he transcribed dates and narratives of battles, of which I can understand nothing. He should have informed me of the rights of the nation, the rights of the chief corporate establishments in it; its laws, usages, manners, with the alterations by which they have been affected in the progress of time. This nation might not improperly address him in some such language as the following:—I want from you my own history rather than that of Louis le Gros and Louis Hutin; you tell me, copying from some old, unauthenticated, and carelessly written chronicle, that when Louis VIII. was attacked by a mortal disease, and lay extenuated, languishing, and powerless, the physicians ordered the more than half-dead monarch to take to his bed a blooming damsel, who might cherish the few sparks of remaining life; and that the pious king rejected the unholy advice with indignation. Alas! Daniel, you are unacquainted, it seems, with the Italian proverb—*“Dorina ignuda manda l’uomo sotto la terra.”* You ought to possess a little stronger tincture of political and natural history.

The history of a foreign country should be formed on a different model to that of our own.

If we compose a history of France, we are under no necessity to describe the course of the Seine and the Loire; but if we publish a history of the conquests of the Portuguese in Asia, a topographical description of the recently explored country is required. It is desirable that we should, as it were, conduct the reader by the hand round Africa, and along the coasts of Persia and India; and it is expected that we should treat with information and judgment, of manners, laws, and customs so new to Europe.

We have a great variety of histories of the estab-

lishment of the Portuguese in India, written by our countrymen, but not one of them has brought us acquainted with the different governments of that country, with its religious antiquities, bramins, disciples of St. John, Guebres, and Banians. Some letters of Xavier and his successors have, it is true, been preserved to us. We have had histories of the Indies composed at Paris; from the accounts of those missionaries who were unacquainted with the language of the bramins. We have it repeated, in a hundred works, that the Indians worship the devil. The chaplains of a company of merchants quit our country under these impressions, and, as soon as they perceive on the coast some symbolical figures, they fail not to write home that they are the portraits and likenesses of the devil, that they are in the devil's empire, and that they are going to engage in battle with him. They do not reflect that we are the real worshippers of the devil Mammon, and that we travel six thousand leagues from our native land to offer our vows at his shrine, and to obtain the grant of some portion of his treasures.

As to those who hire themselves out at Paris to some bookseller in the rue de St. Jacques, and at so much per job, and who are ordered to write a history of Japan, Canada, or the Canaries, as the case requires and opportunity suggests, from the memoirs of a few capuchin friars—to such I have nothing to say.

It is sufficient, if it be clearly understood, that the method which would be proper in writing a history of our own country is not suitable in describing the discoveries of the new world; that we should not write on a small city as on a great empire; and that the private history of a prince should be composed in a very different manner from the history of France and England.

If you have nothing to tell us, but that on the banks of the Oxus and the Jaxartes, one barbarian has been succeeded by another barbarian, in what respect do you benefit the public?

These rules are well known; but the art of writing

history well will always be very uncommon. It obviously requires a style grave, pure, varied, and smooth. But we may say with respect to rules for writing history, as in reference to those for all the intellectual arts,—there are many precepts, but few masters.

SECTION V.

History of the Jewish Kings, and of the "Paralipomena."

Every nation, as soon as it was able to write, has written its own history, and the Jews have accordingly written theirs. Before they had kings, they lived under a theocracy; it was their destiny to be governed by God himself.

When the Jews were desirous of having a king, like the adjoining nations, the prophet Samuel, who was exceedingly interested in preventing it, declared to them, on the part of God, that they were rejecting God himself. Thus the Jewish theocracy ceased when the monarchy commenced.

We may therefore remark, without the imputation of blasphemy, that the history of the Jewish kings was written like that of other nations, and that God did not take the pains himself to dictate the history of a people whom he no longer governed.

We advance this opinion with the greatest diffidence. What may perhaps be considered as confirming it, is, that the "Paralipomena" very frequently contradict the book of Kings, both with respect to chronology and facts, just as profane historians sometimes contradict one another. Moreover, if God always wrote the history of the Jews, it seems only consistent and natural to think that he writes it still; for the Jews are always his cherished people. They are on some future day to be converted, and it seems that whenever that event happens, they will have as complete a right to consider the history of their dispersion as sacred, as they have now to say, that God wrote the history of their kings.

We may be allowed here to make one reflection; which is, that as God was for a very long period their

king, and afterwards became their historian, we are bound to entertain for all Jews the most profound respect. There is not a single Jew broker, or slop-man, who is not infinitely superior to Cæsar and Alexander. How can we avoid bending in prostration before an old-clothes-man, who proves to us that his history has been written by God himself, while the histories of Greece and Rome have been transmitted to us merely by the profane hand of man.

If the style of the history of the kings, and of the Paralipomena, is divine, it may nevertheless be true, that the acts recorded in these histories are not divine. David murders Uriah; Ishbosheth and Mephibosheth are murdered; Absalom murders Ammon; Joab murders Absalom; Solomon murders his brother Adonijah; Baasha murders Nadab; Zimri murders Ela; Omri murders Zimri; Ahab murders Naboth; Jehu murders Ahab and Joram; the inhabitants of Jerusalem murder Amaziah, son of Joash; Shallum, son of Jabesh, murders Zachariah, son of Jeroboam; Menahem murders Shallum, son of Jabesh; Pekah, son of Remaliah, murders Pekahiah, son of Manahem; and Hoshea, son of Elah, murders Pekah, son of Remaliah. We pass over, in silence, many other minor murders. It must be acknowledged, that, if the Holy Spirit did write this history, he did not chuse a subject particularly edifying.

SECTION IV.

Of bad Actions which have been consecrated or excused in History.

It is but too common for historians to praise very depraved and abandoned characters, who have done service either to a dominant sect, or to their nation at large. The praises thus bestowed, come perhaps from a loyal and zealous citizen; but zeal of this description is injurious to the great society of mankind. Romulus murders his brother, and he is made a god. Constantine cuts the throat of his son, strangles his wife, and murders almost all his family: he has been eulogized in general councils, but history should

ever hold up such barbarities to detestation. It is undoubtedly fortunate for us that Clovis was a catholic. It is fortunate for the Anglican church that Henry VIII. abolished monks, but we must at the same time admit that Clovis and Henry VIII. were monsters of cruelty.

When first the jesuit Berruyer, who although a jesuit was a fool, undertook to paraphrase the Old and New Testament in the style of the lowest populace, with no other intention than having them read. He scattered some flowers of rhetoric over the two-edged knife which the Jew Ehud thrust up to the hilt in the stomach of the king Eglon; and over the sabre with which Judith cut off the head of Holofernes after having prostituted herself to his pleasures; and also over many other acts recorded of a similar description. The parliament, respecting the Bible which narrates these histories, nevertheless condemned the jesuit who extolled them, and ordered the Old and New Testament to be burnt:—I mean merely those of the jesuit.

But as the judgments of mankind are ever different in similar cases, the same thing happened to Bayle in circumstances totally different. He was condemned for not praising all the actions of David, king of the province of Judea. A man of the name of Jurieu, a refugee preacher in Holland, associated with some other refugee preachers, were desirous of obliging him to recant. But how could he recant with reference to facts delivered in the scripture? Had not Bayle some reason to conclude that all the facts recorded in the Jewish books are not the actions of saints? that David, like other men, had committed some criminal acts; and that, if he is called a man after God's own heart, he is called so in consequence of his penitence, and not of his crimes?

Let us disregard names and confine our consideration to things only. Let us suppose, that during the reign of Henry IV. a clergyman of the League party secretly poured out a phial of oil on the head of a shepherd of Brie; that the shepherd comes to court; that the clergyman presents him to Henry IV. as an excellent violin player, who can completely drive away

all care and melancholy; that the king makes him his equerry, and bestows on him one of his daughters in marriage; that afterwards, the king having quarrelled with the shepherd, the latter takes refuge with one of the princes of Germany, his father-in-law's enemy; that he enlists and arms six hundred banditti overwhelmed by debt and debauchery; that with this regiment of brigands he rushes to the field, slays friends as well as enemies, exterminating all, even to women and children at the breast, in order to prevent a single individual's remaining to give intelligence of the horrid butchery. I farther suppose this same shepherd of Brie to become king of France after the death of Henry IV. that he procures the murder of that king's grandson, after having invited him to sit at meat at his own table, and delivers over to death seven other younger children of his king and benefactor. Who is the man that will not conceive the shepherd of Brie to act rather harshly?

Commentators are agreed that the adultery of David, and his murder of Uriah, are faults which God pardoned. We may therefore conclude that the massacres above mentioned are faults which God also pardoned.

However, Bayle had no quarter given him; but at length some preachers at London having compared George II. to David, one of that monarch's servants prints and publishes a small book, in which he censures the comparison. He examines the whole conduct of David; he goes infinitely farther than Bayle, and treats David with more severity than Tacitus applies to Domitian. This book did not raise in England* the slightest murmur; every reader felt that bad actions are always bad, that God may pardon them when repentance is proportioned to guilt, but that certainly no man can ever approve of them.

There was more reason, therefore, prevailing in England than there was in Holland in the time of Bayle.

* It was subsequently, however, prosecuted by some animals of the "Constitutional Society" calibre of intellect, and of course rendered popular.—T.

We now perceive clearly and without difficulty, that we ought not to hold up as a model of sanctity what, in fact, deserves the severest punishment ; and we see with equal clearness that, as we ought not to consecrate guilt, so we ought not to believe absurdity.

HONOUR.

THE author of the Spirit of Laws has founded his system on the idea that virtue is the principle of republican government, and honour that of monarchical. Is there virtue then without honour, and how is a republic established on virtue ?

Let us place before the reader's eyes that which has been said in an able little book upon this subject. Pamphlets soon sink into oblivion. Truth ought not to be lost, it should be consigned to works of duration.

"Assuredly republics have never been formed on a theoretical principle of virtue. The public interest being opposed to the domination of an individual, the spirit of self-importance, and the ambition of every person, serve to curb ambition and the inclination to rapacity, wherever they may appear. The pride of each citizen watches over that of his neighbour, and no person would willingly be the slave of another's caprice. Such are the feelings which establish republics, and which preserve them. It is ridiculous to imagine that there must be more virtue in a Grison than in a Spaniard."*

That honour can be the sole principle of monarchies is a no less chimerical idea, and the author shows it to be so himself, without being aware of it. The nature of honour, says he, in chapter vii. of book iii. is to

* The truth of this proposition may be doubted, not exactly as between the Grison and the Spaniard, but as between the subjects of differently constituted governments. There is necessarily more vice in corrupt than in free governments, there being less soil for the growth of the virtues. Personal and political independence is possibly absolutely requisite for the production of the loftiest species of goodness.—T.

demand preferences and distinctions. It, therefore, naturally suits a monarchical government.

Was it not on this same principle, that the Romans demanded the prætorship, consulship, ovation, and triumph in their republic? These were preferences and distinctions well worth the titles and preferences purchased in monarchies, and for which there is often a regular fixed price.

This remark proves, in our opinion, that the Spirit of Laws, although sparkling with wit, and commendable by its respect for the laws and hatred of superstition and rapine, is founded entirely upon false views.*

Let us add, that it is precisely in courts that there is always least honour:—

L'ingannare, il mentir, la frode, il furto,
E la rapina di pictà vestita,
Crescer col danno e precipizio altrui,
E fare a se de l'altrui biasmo onore,
Son le virtù di quella gente infidà.

Pastor Fido, atto v. scena i.

Ramper avec bassesse en affectant l'audace,
S'engraisser de rapine en attestant les lois,
Etouffer en secret son ami qu'on embrasse,
Voilà l'honneur qui regne à la suite des rois.

To basely crawl, yet wear a face of pride;
To rob the public, yet o'er law preside;
Salute a friend, yet stung in the embrace—
Such is the *honour* which in courts takes place.

Indeed, it is in courts, that men devoid of honour often attain to the highest dignities; and it is in republics that a known dishonourable citizen is seldom trusted by the people with public concerns.

The celebrated saying of the regent, duke of Orleans, is sufficient to destroy the foundation of the Spirit of Laws. "This is a perfect courtier—he has neither temper nor honour."

HUMILITY.

PHILOSOPHERS have enquired, whether humility is a virtue; but virtue or not, every one must agree that

* See article LAWS (SPIRIT OF)

nothing is more rare. The Greeks called it 'tapeinosis' or 'tapeineia.' It is strongly recommended in the fourth book of the Laws of Plato: he rejects the proud and would multiply the humble.

Epictetus, in five places, preaches humility:—"If thou passest for a person of consequence in the opinion of some people, distrust thyself.—No lifting up of thy eye-brows.—Be nothing in thine own eyes.—If thou seekest to please, thou art lost.—Give place to all men; prefer them to thyself; assist them all."

We see by these maxims, that never capuchin went so far as Epictetus.

Some theologians, who had the misfortune to be proud, have pretended that humility cost nothing to Epictetus, who was a slave; and that he was humble by station, as a doctor or a jesuit may be proud by station.

But what will they say of Marcus Antoninus, who on the throne recommended humility? He places Alexander and his muleteer on the same line. He said that the vanity of pomp is only a bone thrown in the midst of dogs; that to do good, and to patiently hear himself calumniated, constitute the virtue of a king.

Thus the master of the known world recommended humility; but propose humility to a musician,* and see how he will laugh at Marcus Aurelius.

Descartes, in his treatise on the Passions of the Soul, places humility among their number, who—if we may personify this quality—did not expect to be regarded as a passion. He also distinguishes between virtuous and vicious humility.

But we leave to philosophers more enlightened than ourselves the care of explaining this doctrine, and will confine ourselves to saying, that humility is "the modesty of the soul."

It is the antidote to pride. Humility could not pre-

* Voltaire, most likely, aimed this observation at a particular individual. Possibly it applies generally to most of those whose profession is to *entertain* the people, and who succeed in it. The public generally make spoiled children of those who are successful in amusing them.—T.

vent Rousseau from believing, that he knew more of music than those to whom he taught it; but it could induce him to agree that he was not superior to Lulli in recitative.

The reverend father Viret, cordelier, theologian, and preacher, all humble as he is, will always firmly believe that he knows more than those who learn to read and write; but his christian humility, his modesty of soul, will oblige him to confess in the bottom of his heart, that he has written nothing but nonsense. Oh, brothers Nonotte, Guyon, Pantouillet, vulgar scribblers! be more humble, and always bear in recollection "the modesty of the soul."

HYPATIA.

I WILL suppose that madame Dacier had been the finest woman in Paris; and that in the quarrel on the comparative merits of the ancients and moderns, the carmelites pretended that the poem of the Magdalen, written by a carmelite, was infinitely superior to Homer, and that it was an atrocious impiety to prefer the Iliad to the verses of a monk. I will take the additional liberty of supposing that the archbishop of Paris took the part of the carmelites against the governor of the city, a partisan of the beautiful madame Dacier, and that he excited the carmelites to massacre this fine woman in the church of Notre Dame, and to drag her naked and bloody to the Place Maubert,—would not everybody say that the archbishop of Paris had done a very wicked action, for which he ought to do penance?

This is precisely the history of Hypatia. She taught Homer and Plato, in Alexandria, in the time of Theodosius II. St. Cyril, incensed the christian populace against her, as it is related by Damasius and Suidas, and clearly proved by the most learned men of the age, such as Bruker, La Croze, Basnage, &c. as is very judiciously exposed in the great Dictionnaire Encyclopedique, in the article ECCLECTISME.

A man whose intentions are no doubt very good, has

printed two volumes against this article of the Encyclopedia. Two volumes against two pages, my friends, are too much. I have told you a hundred times you multiply being without necessity. Two lines against two volumes would be quite sufficient; but write not even these two lines.

I am content with remarking, that St. Cyril was a man of parts; that he suffered his zeal to carry him too far; that when we strip beautiful women, it is not to massacre them; that St. Cyril, no doubt, asked pardon of God for this abominable action; and that I pray the father of mercies to have pity on his soul. He who wrote the two volumes against ECCLECTISME, also inspires me with infinite commiseration.

IDEA.

SECTION I.

WHAT is an idea?

It is an image painted upon my brain.

Are all your thoughts, then, images?

Certainly; for the most abstract thoughts are only the consequences of all the objects that I have perceived. I utter the word 'being' in general, only because I have known particular beings; I utter the word 'infinity,' only because I have seen certain limits, and because I push back those limits in my mind to a greater and still greater distance, as far as I am able. I have ideas in my head only because I have images.

And who is the painter of this picture?

It is not myself; I cannot draw with sufficient skill; the being that made me, makes my ideas.

And how do you know that the ideas are not made by yourself?

Because they frequently come to me involuntarily when I am awake, and always without my consent when I dream.

You are persuaded, then, that your ideas belong to you only in the same manner as your hairs, which grow and become white, and fall off, without your having anything at all to do with the matter?

Nothing can possibly be clearer; all that I can do is to frizzle, cut, and powder them; but I have nothing to do with producing them.

You must then, I imagine, be of Malebranche's opinion, that we see all in God?

I am at least certain of this, that, if we do not see things in the great being, we see them in consequence of his powerful and immediate action.

And what was the nature or process of this action?

I have already told you repeatedly, in the course of our conversation, that I did not know a single syllable about the subject, and that God has not communicated his secret to any one. I am completely ignorant of that which makes my heart beat; and my blood flow through my veins; I am ignorant of the principle of all my movements, and yet you seem to expect that I should explain how I feel and how I think. Such an expectation is unreasonable.

But you at least know whether your faculty of having ideas is joined to extension?

Not in the least. It is true that Tatian, in his discourse to the Greeks, says, the soul is evidently composed of a body. Irenæus, in the twenty-sixth chapter of his second book, says, the Lord has taught that our souls preserve the figure of our body in order to retain the memory of it. Tertullian asserts, in his second book on the Soul, that it is a body. Arnobius, Lactantius, Hilary, Gregory of Nyssa, and Ambrose, are precisely of the same opinion. It is pretended that other fathers of the church assert that the soul is without extension, and that in this respect they adopt the opinion of Plato; this, however, may well be doubted. With respect to myself, I dare not venture to form an opinion; I see nothing but obscurity and incomprehensibility in either system; and, after a whole life's meditation on the subject, I am not advanced a single step beyond where I was on the first day.

The subject, then, was not worth thinking about?

That is true; the man who enjoys knows more of it, or at least knows it better, than he who reflects; he is more happy. But what is it that you would have? It

depended not, I repeat, upon myself whether I should admit or reject all those ideas which have crowded into my brain in conflict with each other, and actually converted my medullary magazine into their field of battle. After a hard fought contest between them, I have obtained nothing but uncertainty from the spoils.

It is a melancholy thing to possess so many ideas, and yet to have no precise knowledge of the nature of ideas?

It is, I admit; but it is much more melancholy, and inexpressibly more foolish, for a man to believe he knows what in fact he does not?

But, if you do not positively know what an idea is, if you are ignorant whence ideas come, you at least know by what they come?

Yes; just in the same way as the ancient Egyptians, who, without knowing the source of the Nile, knew perfectly well that its waters reached them by its bed. We know perfectly that ideas come to us by the senses; but we never know whence they come. The source of this Nile will never be discovered.

If it is certain that all ideas are given by means of the senses, why does the Sorbonne, which has so long adopted this doctrine from Aristotle, condemn it with so much virulence in Helvetius?

Because the Sorbonne is composed of theologians.

SECTION II.

All in God.

In Deo vivimus, movemur, et sumus.

In God we live and move and have our being.

St. Paul, Acts xvii. 28.

Aratus, who is thus quoted and approved by St. Paul, made this confession of faith, we perceive, among the Greeks.

The virtuous Cato says the same thing:—

Jupiter est quodcumque vides, quocumque moveris.

LUCAN'S *Pharsalia*, ix. 580.

Whate'er we see, whate'er we feel, is Jove.

Malebranche is the commentator on Aratus, St. Paul, and Cato. He succeeded, in the first instance, in showing the errors of the senses and imagination; but when he attempted to develop the grand system, that all is in God, all his readers declared the commentary to be more obscure than the text. In short, having plunged into this abyss, his head became bewildered; he held conversations with the Word; he was made acquainted with what the Word had done in other planets; he became, in truth, absolutely mad; a circumstance well calculated to excite apprehensions in our own minds, apt as some of us are to attempt soaring, upon our weak and puny pinions, very far beyond our reach.

In order to comprehend the notion of Malebranche, such as he held it while he retained his faculties, we must admit nothing that we do not clearly conceive, and reject what we do not understand. Attempting to explain an obscurity by obscurities, is to act like an ideot.

I feel decidedly, that my first ideas and my sensations have come to me without any co-operation or volition on my part. I clearly see that I cannot give myself a single idea. I cannot give myself anything. I have received everything. The objects which surround me cannot, of themselves, give me either idea or sensation; for how is it possible for a little particle of matter to possess the faculty of producing a thought?

I am therefore irresistibly led to conclude that the Eternal Being, who bestows everything, gives me my ideas, in whatever manner this may be done.

But what is an idea, what is a sensation, a volition, &c.? It is myself perceiving, myself feeling, myself willing.

We see, in short, that what is called an idea is no more a real being, than there is a real being called motion, although there are bodies moved.

In the same manner, there is not any particular being called memory, imagination, judgment; but we ourselves remember, imagine, and judge.

The truth of all this, it must be allowed, is sufficiently plain and trite; but it is necessary to repeat and inculcate such truth, as the opposite errors are more trite still.

Laws of Nature.

How, let us now ask, would the Eternal Being, who formed all, produce all those various modes or qualities which we perceive in organized bodies?

Did he introduce two beings in a grain of wheat, one of which should produce germination in the other? Did he introduce two beings in the composition of a stag, one of which should produce swiftness in the other? Certainly not. All that we know on the subject is, that the grain is endowed with the faculty of vegetating, and the stag with that of speed.

There is evidently a grand mathematical principle directing all nature, and effecting everything produced. The flying of birds, the swimming of fishes, the walking or running of quadrupeds, are visible effects of known laws of motion. "Mens agitat molem."

Can the sensations and ideas of those animals, then, be anything more than the admirable effects of mathematical laws more refined and less obvious?

Organization of the Senses and Ideas.

It is by these general and comprehensive laws that every animal is impelled to seek its appropriate food. We are naturally, therefore, led to conjecture that there is a law by which it has the idea of this food, and without which it would not go in search of it.

The eternal intelligence has made all the actions of an animal depend upon a certain principle: the eternal intelligence, therefore, has made the sensations which cause those actions depend on the same principle.

Would the author of nature have disposed and adjusted those admirable instruments, the senses, with so divine a skill; would he have exhibited such astonishing adaptation between the eyes and light; between the atmosphere and the ears, had it, after all, been necessary to call in the assistance of other agency to

complete his work? Nature always acts by the shortest ways. Protracted processes indicate want of skill; multiplicity of springs, and complexity of co-operation, are the result of weakness. We cannot but believe, therefore, that one main-spring regulates the whole system.

The Great Being does Everything.

Not merely are we unable to give ourselves sensations, we cannot even imagine any beyond those which we have actually experienced. Let all the academies of Europe propose a premium for him who shall imagine a new sense; no one will ever gain that premium. We can do nothing, then, of our mere selves, whether there be an invisible and intangible being inclosed in our brain or diffused throughout our body, or whether there be not; and it must be admitted, upon every system, that the author of nature has given us all that we possess,—organs, sensations, and the ideas which proceed from them

As we are thus matured under his forming hand, Malebranche, notwithstanding all his errors, had reason to say philosophically, that we are in God and that we see all in God; as St. Paul used the same language in a theological sense, and Aratus and Cato in a moral one.

What then are we to understand by the words seeing all in God?

They are either words destitute of meaning, or they mean, that God gives us all our ideas.

What is the meaning of receiving an idea? We do not create it when we receive it; it is not, therefore, so unphilosophical as has been thought, to say it is God who produces the ideas in my head, as it is he who produces motion in my whole body. Everything, is an operation of God upon his creatures.

How is Everything an Action of God?

There is in nature only one universal, eternal, and active principle. There cannot be two such principles; for they would either be alike or different. If they are different, they destroy one another; if they are alike, it is

the same as if there were only one. The unity of design; visible through the grand whole in all its infinite variety, announces one single principle, and that principle must act upon all being, or it ceases to be a universal principle.

If it acts upon all being, it acts upon all the modes of all being. There is not, therefore, a single remnant, a single mode, a single idea, which is not the immediate effect of a universal cause perpetually present.

The matter of the universe, therefore, belongs to God, as much as the ideas, and the ideas as much as the matter.

To say that anything is out of him, would be saying that there is something out of the vast whole. God being the universal principle of all things, all, therefore, exists in him, and by him.

This system includes that of "physical premotion," but in the same manner as an immense wheel includes a small one that endeavours to fly off from it. The principle which we have just been unfolding is too vast to admit of any particular and detailed view.

Physical premotion occupies the great supreme with all the changing vagaries which take place in the head of an individual Jansenist or Molinist; we, on the contrary, occupy the Being of beings only with the grand and general laws of the universe. Physical premotion makes five propositions a matter of attention and occupation to God, which interest only some lay-sister, the sweeper of a convent; while we attribute to him employment of the most simple and important description,—the arrangement of the whole system of the universe.

Physical premotion is founded upon that subtle and truly Grecian principle, that if a thinking being can give himself an idea, he would augment his existence; but we do not, for our parts, know what is meant by augmenting our being. We comprehend nothing about the matter. We say that a thinking being might give himself new modes without adding to his existence; just in the same manner as when we

dance, our sliding steps and crossings and attitudes give us no new existence; and to suppose they do so, would appear completely absurd. We agree only so far in the system of physical premotion, that we are convinced we give ourselves nothing.

Both the system of premotion and our own are abused, as depriving men of their liberty. God forbid we should advocate such deprivation. To do away this imputation, it is only necessary to understand the meaning of the word liberty. We shall speak of it in its proper place; and in the mean time the world will go on as it has gone on hitherto, without the Thomists or their opponents, or all the disputants in the world, having any power to change it. In the same manner, we shall always have ideas, without precisely knowing what an idea is.

IDENTITY.

THIS scientific term signifies no more than "the same thing." It might be correctly translated by "sameness." This subject is of considerably more interest than may be imagined. All agree, that the guilty person only ought to be punished—the individual perpetrator, and no other. But a man fifty years of age is not in reality the same individual as the man of twenty; he retains no longer any of the parts which then formed his body; and if he has lost the memory of past events, it is certain that there is nothing left to unite his actual existence to an existence which to him is lost.

I am the same person only by the consciousness of what I have been combined with that of what I am; I have no consciousness of my past being but through memory; memory alone, therefore, establishes the identity, the sameness of my person.

We may, in truth, be naturally and aptly resembled to a river, all whose waters pass away in perpetual change and flow. It is the same river as to its bed, its banks, its source, its mouth, everything, in short, that

is not itself; but changing every moment its water, which constitutes its very being, it has no identity; there is no sameness belonging to the river.

Were there another Xerxes like him who lashed the Hellespont for disobedience, and ordered for it a pair of hand-cuffs; and were the son of this Xerxes to be drowned in the Euphrates, and the father desirous of punishing that river for the death of his son, the Euphrates might very reasonably say in its vindication: Blame the waves that were rolling on at the time your son was bathing; those waves belong not to me, and form no part of me; they have past on to the Persian-gulph; a part is mixed with the salt water of that sea, and another part, exhaled in vapour, has been impelled by a south-east wind to Gaul, and been incorporated with endives and lettuces, which the Gauls have since used in their sallads; seize the culprit where you can find him.

It is the same with a tree, a branch of which broken by the wind might have fractured the skull of your great grandfather. It is no longer the same tree; all its parts have given way to others. The branch which killed your great grandfather is no part of this tree: it exist no longer.

It has been asked, then, how a man, who has totally lost his memory before his death, and whose members have been changed into other substances, can be punished for his faults or rewarded for his virtues, when he is no longer himself? I have read in a well known book the following question and reply:—

“Question. How can I be either rewarded or punished when I shall no longer exist; when there will be nothing remaining of that which constituted my person? It is only by means of memory that I am always myself; after my death, a miracle will be necessary to restore it to me,—to enable me to re-enter upon my lost existence.

“Answer. That is just as much as to say, that if a prince had put to death his whole family, in order to reign himself, and if he had tyrannized over his subjects with the most wanton cruelty, he would be exempted

from punishment on pleading before God, I am not the offender; I have lost my memory; you are under a mistake; I am no longer the same person—Do you think this sophism would pass with God?"

This answer is a highly commendable one; but it does not completely solve the difficulty.

It would be necessary for this purpose, in the first place, to know whether understanding and sensation are a faculty given by God to man, or a created substance; a question which philosophy is too weak and uncertain to decide.

It is necessary in the next place to know whether, if the soul be a substance and has lost all knowledge of the evil it has committed, and be, moreover, as perfect a stranger to what it has done with its own body, as to all the other bodies of our universe—whether, in these circumstances, it can or should, according to our manner of reasoning, answer in another universe for actions of which it has not the slightest knowledge; whether, in fact, a miracle would not be necessary to impart to this soul the recollection it no longer possesses, to render it consciously present to the crimes which have become obliterated and annihilated in its mind, and make it the same person that it was on earth; or whether God will judge it nearly in the same way in which the presidents of human tribunals proceed, condemning a criminal, although he may have completely forgotten the crimes he has actually committed. He remembers them no longer; but they are remembered for him: he is punished for the sake of the example. But God cannot punish a man after his death with a view to his being an example to the living. No living man knows whether the deceased is condemned or absolved. God, therefore, can punish him only because he cherished and accomplished evil desires; but if, when after death he presents himself before the tribunal of God, he no longer entertains any such desire;—if for a period of twenty years he has totally forgotten that he did entertain such—if he is no longer in any respect the same person,—what is it that God will punish in him?

These are questions which appear beyond the compass of the human understanding, and there seems to exist a necessity, in these intricacies and labyrinths, of recurring to faith alone, which is always our last asylum.

Lucretius had partly felt these difficulties, when in his third book (verses 890—91) he describes a man trembling at the idea of what will happen to him when he will no longer be the same man :

*Nec radicatus e vitâ se tollit et evit;
Sed facit esse sui quiddam super incius ipse.*

But Lucretius is not the oracle to be addressed, in order to obtain any discoveries of the future.

The celebrated Toland, who wrote his own epitaph, concluded it with these words: "*Idem futurus Tolandus nunquam.*" He will never again be the same Toland.

However, it may be presumed, that God would have well known how to find and restore him, had such been his good pleasure; and, it is to be presumed, also, that the being who necessarily exists, is necessarily good.

IDOL—IDOLATER—IDOLATRY.

SECTION I.

IDOL is derived from the Greek word '*eidōs*,' figure; '*eidolos*,' the representation of a figure, and '*latreuein*,' to serve, revere, or adore.

It does not appear, that there was ever any people on earth who took the name of idolaters. This word is an offence, an insulting term like that of '*gavache*,' which the Spaniards formerly gave to the French; and that of '*maranes*,' which the French gave to the Spaniards in return. If we had demanded of the senate of the Areopagus of Athens, or at the court of the kings of Persia—"Are you idolaters?" they would scarcely have understood the question. None would have answered: "We adore images and idols." This word, idolater, idolatry, is found neither in Homer, Hesiod, Herodotus, nor any other author of the religion

of the gentiles. There was never any edict, any law, which commanded that idols should be adored; that they should be treated as gods, and regarded as gods.

When the Roman and Carthaginian captains made a treaty, they called all their gods to witness. "It is in their presence," said they, "that we swear peace." Yet the statues of these gods, whose number was very great, were not in the tents of the generals. They regarded, or pretended to regard, the gods as present at the actions of men as witnesses and judges. And assuredly it was not the image which constituted the divinity.

In what view, therefore, did they see the statues of their false gods in the temples? With the same view, if we may so express ourselves, that the catholics see the images, the object of *their* veneration. The error was not in adoring a piece of wood or marble, but in adoring a false divinity, represented by this wood and marble. The difference between them and the catholics is, not that they had images, and the catholics have none: the difference is, that their images represented the fantastic beings of a false religion, and that the christian images represent real beings in a true religion. The Greeks had the statue of Hercules, and we have that of St. Christopher; they had Esculapius and his goat, we have St. Roch and his dog; they had Mars and his lance; and we have St. Antony of Padua, and St. James of Compostella.

When the consul Pliny addresses prayers to the immortal gods in the exordium of the panegyric of Trajan, it is not to images that he addresses them. These images were not immortal.

Neither the latest nor the most remote times of paganism offer a single fact which can lead to the conclusion that they adored idols. Homer speaks only of the gods who inhabited the high Olympus. The palladium, although fallen from heaven, was only a sacred token of the protection of Pallas: it was herself that was venerated in the palladium. It was our *am-poule*, or holy oil.

But the Romans and Greeks knelt before their sta-

tnes, gave them crowns, incense, and flowers, and carried them in triumph in the public places. The catholics have sanctified these customs, and yet are not called idolaters.

The women in times of drought carried the statues, of the gods after having fasted. They walked barefooted with dishevelled hair, and it quickly rained buckets full, says Petronius:—"Et statim urceatim pluebat." Has not this custom been consecrated; illegitimate indeed among the gentiles, but legitimate among the catholics? In how many towns are not images carried to obtain the blessings of heaven through their intercession? If a Turk, or a learned Chinese, were a witness of these ceremonies, he would, through ignorance, accuse the Italians of putting their trust in the figures which they thus promenade in procession?

SECTION II.

Examination of the Ancient Idolatry.

From the time of Charles I. the catholic religion was declared idolatrous in England. All the presbyterians are persuaded that the catholics adore bread, which they eat, and figures, which are the work of their sculptors and painters. With that which one part of Europe reproaches the catholics, they themselves reproach the gentiles.

We are surprised at the prodigious number of declamations uttered in all times against the idolatry of the Romans and Greeks; and we are afterwards still more surprised when we see that they were not idolaters.

They had some temples more privileged than others. The great Diana of Ephesus had more reputation than a village Diana. There were more miracles performed in the temple of Esculapius at Epidaurus, than in any other of his temples. The statue of the Olympian Jupiter attracted more offerings than that of the Paphlagonian Jupiter. But to oppose the customs of a true religion to those of a false one, have we not for several ages had more devotion to certain altars than to others?

Has not our lady of Loretto been preferred to our lady of Nieges, to that of Ardens, of Hall, &c. That is not saying there is more virtue in a statue at Loretto than in a statue of the village of Hall, but we have felt more devotion to the one than to the other; we have believed that she whom we invoked, at the feet of her statues, would condescend, from the height of heaven, to diffuse more favours and to work more miracles in Loretto than in Hall. This multiplicity of images of the same person also proves that it is the images that we revere, and that the worship relates to the person who is represented; for it is not possible that every image can be the same thing. There are a thousand images of St. Francis, which have no resemblance to him, and which do not resemble one another; and all indicate a single saint Francis, invoked, on the day of his feast, by those who are devoted to this saint.

It was precisely the same with the pagans, who supposed the existence only of a single divinity, a single Apollo, and not as many Apollos and Dianas as they had temples and statues. It is therefore proved, as much as history can prove anything, that the ancients believed not the statue to be a divinity; that worship was not paid to this statue or image, and consequently that they were not idolaters. It is for us to ascertain how far the imputation has been a mere pretext to accuse them of idolatry.

A gross and superstitious populace who reason not, and who know neither how to doubt, deny, or believe; who visit the temples out of idleness, and because the lowly are there equal to the great; who make their contributions because it is the custom; who speak continually of miracles without examining any of them; and who are very little in point of intellect beyond the brutes whom they sacrifice—such a people, I repeat, in the sight of the great Diana, or of Jupiter the thunderer, may well be seized with a religious horror, and adore, without consciousness, the statue itself. This is what happens now and then, in our own churches, to our ignorant peasantry, who however are informed that

it is the blessed mortals received into heaven whose intercession they solicit, and not that of images of wood and stone.

The Greeks and Romans augment the number of their gods by their apotheoses. The Greeks deified conquerors like Bacchus, Hercules, and Perseus. Rome devoted altars to her emperors. Our apotheoses are of a different kind : we have infinitely more saints than they have secondary gods, but we pay respect neither to rank nor to conquest. We consecrate temples to the simply virtuous, who would have been unknown on earth if they had not been placed in heaven. The apotheoses of the ancients were the effect of flattery, ours are produced by a respect for virtue.

Cicero, in his philosophical works, only allows of a suspicion that the people may mistake the statues of the gods and confound them with the gods, themselves. His interlocutors attack the established religion, but none of them think of accusing the Romans of taking marble and brass for divinities. Lucretius accuses no person of this stupidity, although he reproaches the superstitious of every class. This opinion, therefore, has never existed : there never have been idolaters.

Horace causes an image of Priapus to speak, and makes him say, "I was once the trunk of a fig-tree, and a carpenter being doubtful whether he should make of me a god or a bench, at length determined to make me a divinity." What are we to gather from this pleasantry? Priapus was one of the subaltern divinities, and a subject of raillery for the wits, and this pleasantry is a tolerable proof that a figure placed in the garden to frighten away the birds could not be very profoundly worshipped.

Dacier, giving way to the spirit of a commentator, observes, that Baruch predicted this adventure. "They became what the workmen chose to make them : " but might not this be observed of all statues. Had Baruch a visionary anticipation of the Satires of Horace?

A block of marble may as well be hewed into a cistern, as into a figure of Alexander, Jupiter, or any

being still more respectable. The matter which composed the cherubim of the holy of holies, might have been equally appropriated to the vilest functions. Is a throne or altar the less revered, because it might have been formed into a kitchen table?

Dacier, instead of concluding that the Romans adored the statue of Priapus, and that Baruch predicted it, should have perceived that the Romans laughed at it. Consult all the authors who speak of the statues of the gods, you will not find one of them allude to idolatry: their testimony amounts to the express contrary. "It is not the workman," says Martial, "who makes the gods, but he who prays to them."

*Qui finxit sacros auro vel marmore vultus
Non facit ille deos; qui rogat ille facit.*

"It is Jove whom we adore in the image of Jove," writes Ovid:—

Colitur pro Jove, forma Jovis.

"The gods inhabit our minds and bosoms," observe Statius, "and not images in the form of them:"—

*Nulla autem effigies, nulli commissa metallo.
Forma Dei, mentes habitare et pectora gaudet.*

Lucan, too, calls the universe the abode and empire of God:—

Estne Dei, sedes, nisi terra, et poutus, et aër ?

A volume might be filled with passages, asserting idols to be images alone.

There remains but the case in which statues became oracles;—notions that might have led to an opinion that there was something divine about them. The predominant sentiment, however, was, that the gods had chosen to visit certain altars and images, in order to give audience to mortals, and to reply to them. We read in Homer and in the chorus of the Greek tragedies, of prayers to Apollo, who delivered his responses on the mountains in such a temple, or such a town. There is not, in all antiquity, the least trace of a prayer addressed to a statue; and if it was believed that the divine spirit preferred certain temples and images, as he preferred certain men, it was simply an

error in application. How many miraculous images have we? The ancients only boasted of possessing what we possess, and if we are not idolaters for using images, by what correct principle can we term them so?

Those who profess magic, and who either believe or affect to believe it a science, pretend to possess the secret of making the gods descend into their statues, not, indeed, the superior gods, but the secondary gods or genii. This is what Hermes Trismegistus calls 'making' gods—a doctrine which is controverted by St. Augustin in his City of God. But even this clearly shows that the images were not thought to possess anything divine, since it required a magician to animate them, and it happened very rarely that a magician was successful in these sublime endeavours.

In a word, the images of the gods were not gods. Jupiter, and not his statue, launched his thunderbolts; it was not the statue of Neptune which stirred up tempests, nor that of Apollo which bestowed light. The Greeks and the Romans were gentiles and polytheists, but not idolaters.

We lavished this reproach upon them when we had neither statues nor temples, and have continued the injustice even after having employed painting and sculpture to honour and represent our truths, precisely in the manner in which those we reproach employed them to honour and personify their fictions.

SECTION III.

Whether the Persians, the Sabæans, the Egyptians, the Tartars, or the Turks, have been Idolaters? and the extent of the Antiquity of the Images called Idols. History of their Worship.

It is a great error to denominate those idolaters who worship the sun and the stars. These nations for a long time had neither images nor temples. If they were wrong, it was in rendering to the stars that which belonged only to the creator of the stars. Moreover, the dogma of Zoroaster, or Zerdusht, unfolded in the Sadder, teaches a Supreme Being, an avenger and re-

warder, which opinion is very distant from idolatry. The government of China possesses no idol, but has always preserved the simple worship of the master of heaven, Kien-tien.*

Ghengis Khan, among the Tartars, was not an idolater, and used no images. The Mahometans who inhabit Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, Persia, India, and Africa, call the christians idolaters and giaours, because they imagine that christians worship images. They break the statues which they find in Sancta Sophia, the church of the Holy Apostles; and others they convert into mosques. Appearances have deceived them, as they are eternally deceiving man, and have led them to believe, that churches dedicated to saints, who were formerly men; images of saints worshipped kneeling; and miracles worked in these churches, are invincible proofs of absolute idolatry; although all amount to nothing. Christians, in fact, adore one God only, and even in the blessed, only revere the virtues of God manifested in them. The image-breakers (iconoclastes) and the protestants who reproach the catholic church with idolatry, claim the same answer.

As men rarely form precise ideas, and still less express them with precision, we call the gentiles, and still more the polytheists, idolaters. An immense number of volumes have been written in order to develop the various opinions upon the origin of the worship rendered to the deity. This multitude of books and opinions prove nothing, except ignorance.

It is not known who invented coats, shoes, and stockings, and yet we would know who invented idols.

* And have brought him down into the person of the Teshoo Lama, a sort of divinity under *protection*. The variety of invention by which human policy avails itself of the notion of an intermediate source of communication with the Deity, is as remarkable as the avidity with which the bulk of mankind seek relief from the simple ideas of unity and omnipotence, by arbitrary personifications of attributes and qualifications, which make of the Deity a part and parcel of themselves. China, in its affected paternity and real despotism, although more tolerant than many other governments, is not so purely deistical as Voltaire imagined, as the theory of the Lama avatar, or incarnation, proves.—T.

What signifies a passage of Sanchoniathon, who lived before the battle of Troy? What does he teach us, when he says, that Chaos—the spirit, that is to say, the breath—in love with his principles, draws the veil from it, which renders the air luminous; that the wind Colp, and his wife Bau, engendered Eon; that Eon engendered Genos, that Cronos, their descendant, had two eyes behind as well as before; that he became a god, and that he gave Egypt to his son Thaut? Such is one of the most respectable monuments of antiquity.

Orpheus will teach us no more in his Theogony, than Damascius has preserved to us. He represents the principle of the world under the figure of a dragon with two heads, the one of a bull, the other of a lion; a face in the middle, which he calls the face of God, and golden wings to his shoulders.

But, from these fantastic ideas may be drawn two great truths; the one, that sensible images and hieroglyphics are of the remotest antiquity; the other, that all the ancient philosophers have recognised a First Principle.

As to polytheism, good sense will tell you, that as long as men have existed—that is to say, weak animals capable of reason and folly, subject to all accidents, sickness, and death—these men have felt their weakness and dependence. Obligated to acknowledge that there is something more powerful than themselves; having discovered a principle in the earth which furnishes their aliment; one in the air which often destroys them; one in fire which consumes; and in water which drowns them—what is more natural than for ignorant men to imagine beings which preside over these elements? What is more natural than to revere the invisible power which makes the sun and stars shine to our eyes? and, since they would form an idea of powers superior to man—what more natural than to figure them in a sensible manner? Could they think otherwise? The Jewish religion, which preceded ours, and which was given by God himself, was filled with these images, under which God is represented. He deigns to speak the human language in a

bush; he appeared once on a mountain; the celestial spirits which he sends all come with a human form: finally, the sanctuary is covered with cherubs, which are the bodies of men with the wings and heads of animals. It is this which has given rise to the error of Plutarch, Tacitus, Appian, and so many others, of reproaching the Jews with adoring an ass's head. God, in spite of his prohibition to paint or form likenesses, has, therefore, deigned to adopt himself to human weakness, which required the senses to be addressed by sensible images.

Isaiah, in chapter vi. sees the Lord seated on a throne, and his train filled the temple. The Lord extends his hand, and touches the mouth of Jeremiah, in chap. i. of that prophet. Ezekiel, in chap. i. sees a throne of sapphire, and God appeared to him like a man seated on this throne. These images alter not the purity of the Jewish religion, which never employed pictures, statues, or idols, to represent God to the eyes of the people.

The learned Chinese, the Persees, and the ancient Egyptians, had no idols; but Isis and Osiris were soon represented. Bel, at Babylon, was a great colossus. Brama was a fantastic monster in the peninsula of India. Above all, the Greeks multiplied the names of the gods, statues, and temples, but always attributed the supreme power to their Zeus, called Jupiter by the Latins, the sovereign of gods and men. The Romans imitated the Greeks. These people always placed all the gods in heaven, without knowing what they understood by heaven.

The Romans had their twelve great gods, six male, and six female, whom they called "*Dii majorum gentium*:" Jupiter, Neptune, Apollo, Vulcan, Mars, Mercury, Juno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Venus, and Diana; Pluto was therefore forgotten; Vesta took his place.

Afterwards, came the gods "*minorum gentium*," the gods of mortal origin; the heroes, as Bacchus, Hercules, and Esculapius; the infernal gods, Pluto and Proserpine; those of the sea, as Tethys, Amphitrite, the Nereids, and Glaucus. The Dryads, Naiads,

gods of gardens; those of shepherds, &c. They had them, indeed, for every profession, for every action of life, for children, marriageable girls, married, and lying-in women: they had even the god Peditum; and finally, they idolized their emperors. Neither these emperors, nor the god Peditum, the goddess Pertunda, or Priapus, nor Rumilia, the goddess of nipples; nor Stercutius, the god of the privy, were, in truth, regarded as the masters of heaven and earth. The emperors had sometimes temples, the petty gods—the penates—had none; but all had their representations, their images.

There were little images with which they ornamented their closets, the amusements of old women and children, which were not authorised by any public worship. The superstition of every individual was left to act according to his own taste. These small idols are still found in the ruins of ancient towns.

If no person knows when men began to make these images, they must know that they are of the greatest antiquity. Terah, the father of Abraham, made them at Ur in Chaldea. Rachael stole and carried off the images of Laban her father. We cannot go back further.

But what precise notion had the ancient nations of all these representations? What virtue, what power was attributed to them? Believed they that the gods descended from heaven to conceal themselves in these statues; or that they communicated to them a part of the divine spirit; or that they communicated to them nothing at all? There has been much very uselessly written on this subject; it is clear that every man judged of it according to the degree of his reason, credulity, or fanaticism. It is evident that the priests attached as much divinity to their statues as they possibly could, to attract more offerings. We know that the philosophers reproved these superstitions, that warriors laughed at them, that the magistrates tolerated them, and that the people, always absurd, knew not what they did. In a word, this is the history of all nations to which God has not made himself known.

The same idea may be formed of the worship which all Egypt rendered to the cow, and that several towns paid to a dog, an ape, a cat, and to onions. It appears that these were first emblems. Afterwards a certain ox Apis, and a certain dog Anubis, were adored: they always ate beef and onions; but it is difficult to know what the old women of Egypt thought of the holy cows and onions.

Idols also often spoke. On the day of the feast of Cybele at Rome, those fine words were commemorated which the statue pronounced when it was translated from the palace of king Attilus: "I wish to depart; take me away quickly; Rome is worthy of the residence of every god."

*Ipsa peti volui; ne sit mora, mitte volentum:
Dignus Roma locus quo Deus omnis eat.*

OVID's *Fasti*, iv. 269—270.

The statue of Fortune spoke; the Scipios, the Ciceros, and the Cæsars, indeed, believed nothing of it; but the old woman, to whom Encolpus gave a crown to buy geese and gods, might very well credit it.

Idols also gave oracles, and priests hidden in the hollow of the statues spoke in the name of the divinity.

How happens it, in the midst of so many gods and different theogonies and particular worships, that there was never any religious war among the people called idolaters? This peace was a good produced from an evil—even from error; for each nation, acknowledging several inferior gods, found it good for his neighbours also to have theirs. If you except Cambyeses, who is reproached with having killed the ox Apis, you will not see any conqueror in profane history who ill-treated the gods of a vanquished people. The heathens had no exclusive religion, and the priests thought only of multiplying the offerings and sacrifices.

The first offerings were fruits. Soon after, animals were required for the table of the priests; they killed them themselves, and became cruel butchers; finally, they introduced the horrible custom of sacrificing human victims, and above all children and young girls. The

Chinese, Persees, and Indians, were never guilty of these abominations; but at Hieropolis, in Egypt, according to Porphyrius, they immolated men.

Strangers were sacrificed in Taurida: happily the priests of Taurida had not much practice. The first Greeks, the Cypriots, Phenicians, Tyrians, and Carthagenians, possessed this abominable superstition. The Romans themselves fell into this religious crime; and Plutarch relates, that they immolated two Greeks and two Gauls to expatiate the gallantries of three vestals. Procopius, contemporary with the king of the Franks, Theodobert, says, that the Franks sacrificed men when they entered Italy with that prince. The Gauls and Germans commonly made these frightful sacrifices. We can scarcely read history without conceiving horror at mankind.

It is true that among the Jews, Jephtha sacrificed his daughter, and Saul was ready to immolate his son; it is also true that those who were devoted to the Lord by anathema could not be redeemed, as other beasts were, but were doomed to perish.

We will now speak of the human victims sacrificed in all religions.

To console mankind for the horrible picture of these pious sacrifices, it is important to know, that amongst almost all nations called idolatrous, there have been holy theologies and popular error, secret worship and public ceremonies; the religion of sages, and that of the vulgar. To know that one God alone was taught to those initiated into the mysteries, it is only necessary to look at the hymn attributed to the ancient Orpheus, which was sung in the mysteries of the Eleusinian Ceres, so celebrated in Europe and Asia: "Contemplate divine nature; illuminate thy mind; govern thy heart; walk in the path of justice, that the God of heaven and earth may be always present to thy eyes: he only self-exists, all beings derive their existence from him; he sustains them all; he has never been seen by mortals, and he sees all things."

We may also read the passage of the philosopher Maximus, whom we have already quoted:—"What man is so gross and stupid as to doubt that there is a

supreme, eternal, and infinite God, who has engendered nothing like himself, and who is the common father of all things?"

There are a thousand proofs that the ancient sages not only abhorred idolatry but polytheism.

Epictetus, that model of resignation and patience, that man so great in a humble condition, never speaks but of one God. Read over these maxims:—"God has created me, God is within me; I carry him everywhere. Can I defile him by obscene thoughts, unjust actions, or infamous desires? My duty is to thank God for all, to praise him for all; and only to cease blessing him in ceasing to live." All the ideas of Epictetus turn on this principle. Is this an idolater?

Marcus Aurelius, perhaps as great on the throne of the Roman empire as Epictetus was in slavery, often speaks, indeed, of the gods, either to conform himself to the received language, or to express intermediate beings between the Supreme Being and men; but in how many places does he show that he recognises one eternal, infinite God alone? "Our soul," says he, "is an emanation from the divinity. My children, my body, my mind, are derived from God."

The stoics and platonics admitted a divine and universal nature; the epicureans denied it. The pontiffs spoke only of a single God in their mysteries. Where then were the idolaters? All our declaimers exclaim against idolatry like little dogs, who yelp when they hear a great one bark.

As to the rest, it is one of the greatest errors of the Dictionary of Moreri to say, that in the time of Theodosius the younger there remained no idolaters except in the retired countries of Asia and Africa. Even in the seventh century there were many people still heathen in Italy. The north of Germany, from the Weser, was not christian in the time of Charlemagne. Poland and all the south remained a long time after him in what was called idolatry; the half of Africa, all the kingdoms beyond the Ganges, Japan, the populace of China, and a hundred hordes of Tartars, have preserved their ancient religion. In Europe there are only a few

Laplanders, Samoyedes, and Tartars, who have persevered in the religion of their ancestors.

Let us conclude with remarking, that in the time which we call the middle ages, we denominated the country of the Mahometans Pagan; we treated as idolaters and adorers of images, a people who hold all images in abhorrence. Let us once more avow, that the Turks are more excusable in believing us idolaters, when they see our altars loaded with images and statues.

A gentleman belonging to prince Ragotski assured me upon his honour, that being in a coffee-house at Constantinople, the mistress ordered that he should not be served because he was an idolater. He was a protestant, and he swore to her that he adored neither host nor images. "Ah! if that is the case," said the woman, "come to me every day, and you shall be served for nothing."

IGNATIUS LOYOLA.

If you are desirous of obtaining a great name, of becoming the founder of a sect or establishment, be completely mad; but, be sure that your madness corresponds with the turn and temper of your age. Have in your madness reason enough to guide your extravagancies; and, forget not to be excessively opinionated and obstinate. It is certainly possible that you may get hanged; but if you escape hanging, you will have altars erected to you.

In real truth, was there ever a fitter subject for the *Petites-Maisons*, or Bedlam, than Ignatius, or St. Inigo the Biscayan, for that was his true name? His head became deranged in consequence of his reading the "Golden Legend;" as Don Quixote's was, afterwards, by reading the romances of chivalry. Our Biscayan hero, in the first place, dubs himself a knight of the Holy Virgin, and performs the Watch of Arms in honour of his lady. The virgin appears to him and accepts his services; she often repeats her visit, and

introduces to him her son. The devil, who watches his opportunity, and clearly foresees the injury he must in the course of time suffer from the jesuits, comes and makes a tremendous noise in the house, and breaks all the windows; the Biscayan drives him away with the sign of the cross; and the devil flies through the wall, leaving in it a large opening, which was shown to the curious fifty years after the happy event.

His family, seeing the very disordered state of his mind, is desirous of his being confined and put under a course of regimen and medicine. He extricates himself from his family as easily as he did from the devil, and escapes without knowing where to go. He meets with a Moor, and disputes with him about the immaculate conception. The Moor, who takes him exactly for what he is, quits him as speedily as possible. The Biscayan hesitates whether he shall kill the Moor or pray to God for his conversion; he leaves the decision to his horse, and the animal, rather wiser than its master, took the road leading to the stable.

Our hero, after this adventure, undertakes a pilgrimage to Bethlehem, begging his bread on the way: his madness increases as he proceeds; the dominicans take pity on him at Manrosa, and keep him in their establishment for some days, and then dismiss him uncured.

He embarks at Barcelona, and goes to Venice; he returns to Barcelona, still travelling as a mendicant, always experiencing trances and extacies, and frequently visited by the Holy Virgin and Jesus Christ.

At length, he was given to understand that, in order to go to the holy land with any fair view of converting the Turks, the Christians of the Greek church, the Armenians, and the Jews, it was necessary to begin with a little study of theology. Our hero desires nothing better; but, to become a theologian, it was requisite to know something of grammar and a little Latin; this gives him no embarrassment whatever: he goes to college at the age of thirty-three; he is there laughed at, and learns nothing.

He was almost broken-hearted at the idea of not being able to go and convert the infidels. The devil, for this once, took pity on him. He appeared to him, and swore to him, on the faith of a christian, that, if he would deliver himself over to him, he would make him the most learned and able man in the church of God. Ignatius, however, was not to be cajoled to place himself under the discipline of such a master; he went back to his class; he occasionally experienced the rod, but his learning made no progress.

Expelled from the college of Barcelona, persecuted by the devil, who punished him for refusing to submit to his instructions, and abandoned by the Virgin Mary, who took no pains about assisting her devoted knight, he, nevertheless, does not give way to despair. He joins the pilgrims of St. James in their wanderings over the country. He preaches in the streets and public places, from city to city, and is shut up in the dungeons of the inquisition. Delivered from the inquisition, he is put in prison at Alcala. He escapes thence to Salamanca, and is there again imprisoned. At length, perceiving that he is no prophet in his own country, he forms a resolution to go to Paris. He travels thither on foot, driving before him an ass which carried his baggage, money, and manuscripts. Don Quixote had a horse and an esquire, but Ignatius was not provided with either.

He experiences at Paris the same insults and injuries as he had endured in Spain. He is absolutely flogged, in all the regular form and ceremony of scholastic discipline, at the college of St. Barbe. His vocation, at length, calls him to Rome.

How could it possibly come to pass, that a man of such extravagant character and manners, should at length obtain consideration at the court of Rome, gain over a number of disciples, and become the founder of a powerful order, among whom are to be found men of unquestionable worth and learning? The reason is, that he was opinionated, obstinate, and enthusiastic; and found enthusiasts like himself, with

whom he associated. These, having rather a greater share of reason than himself, were instrumental in somewhat restoring and re-establishing his own; he became more prudent and regular towards the close of his life, and occasionally even displayed in his conduct proofs of ability.

Perhaps Mahomet, in his first conversations with the angel Gabriel, began his career with being as much deranged as Ignatius; and perhaps Ignatius, in Mahomet's circumstances, would have performed as great achievements as the prophet; for he was equally ignorant and quite as visionary and intrepid.

It is a common observation, that such cases occur only once: however, it is not long since an English rustic, more ignorant than the Spaniard Ignatius, formed the society of people called "Quakers;" a society far superior to that of Ignatius. Count Zinzendorf has, in our own time, formed the sect of Moravians; and the convulsionaries of Paris, were very nearly upon the point of effecting a revolution. They were quite mad enough, but they were not sufficiently persevering and obstinate.*

IGNORANCE.

SECTION I.

THERE are many kinds of ignorance; but the worst of all is that of critics, who, it is well known, are doubly bound to possess information and judgment, as persons who undertake to affirm and to censure. When they pronounce erroneously, therefore, they are doubly culpable.

A man, for example, composes two large volumes upon a few pages of a valuable book which he has not understood,* and in the first place examines the following words:—

* The French are the last people in Europe to effect great mental revolutions, as the whole course of their history proves. They may stand forward in the ranks of a general progression, but nothing more.—T.

"The sea has covered immense tracts The deep beds of shells which are found in Touraine and elsewhere, could have been deposited there only by the sea."

True, if those beds of shells exist in fact; but the critic ought to be aware that the author himself discovered, or thought he had discovered, that those regular beds of shells have no existence.

He ought not to have said,—

"The universal deluge is related by Moses with the agreement of all nations."

1. Because the Pentateuch was long unknown, not only to the other nations of the world, but to the Jews themselves.

2. Because only a single copy of the law was found at the bottom of an old chest in the time of king Josiah.

3. Because that book was lost during the captivity.

4. Because it was restored by Esdras.

5. Because it was always unknown to every other nation till the time of its being translated by the Seventy.

6. Because, even after the translation ascribed to the Seventy, we have not a single author among the gentiles who quotes a single passage from this book, down to the time of Longinus, who lived under the emperor Aurelian.

7. Because no other nation ever admitted a universal deluge before Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; and even Ovid himself does not make his deluge extend beyond the Mediterranean.

8. Because St. Augustin expressly acknowledges that the universal deluge was unknown to all antiquity.

9. Because the first deluge of which any notice is

* The abbé François, the author of a book absolutely unknown, against those who, at vestry-meetings, are called *atheists, deists, materialists, &c.*

This work is entitled "Thoughts on the Religion of our Lord Jesus Christ."

taken by the gentiles, is that mentioned by Berosus, and which he fixes at about four thousand four hundred years before our vulgar era; which deluge did not extend beyond the Euxine sea.

10. Finally, because no monument of a universal deluge remains in any nation of the world.

In addition to all these reasons, it must be observed, that the critic did not even understand the simple state of the question. The only inquiry is, whether we have any natural proofs that the sea has successively abandoned many tracts of territory? and upon this plain and mere matter of fact subject, M. abbé François has taken occasion to abuse men whom he certainly neither knows nor understands. It is far better to be silent, than merely to increase the quantity of bad books.

The same critic, in order to prop up old ideas now almost universally despised and derided, and which have not the slightest relation to Moses, thinks proper to say,—

“That Berosus perfectly agrees with Moses in the number of generations before the deluge.”*

Be it known to you, my dear reader, that this same Berosus is the writer who informs us that the fish Oannes came out of the river Euphrates every day, to go and preach to the Chaldeans; and that the same fish wrote with one of its bones a capital book about the origin of things. Such is the writer whom the ingenious abbé brings forward as a voucher for Moses.

“Is it not evident,” he says, “that a great number of European families, transplanted to the coasts of Africa, have become, without any mixture of African blood, as black as any of the natives of the country?”†

It is just the contrary of this, M. l'abbé, that is evident. You are ignorant that the “reticulum mucosum” of the negroes is black, although I have mentioned the fact times innumerable. Were you to have ever so large a number of children born to you in Guinea, of a

European wife, they would not one of them have that black unctuous skin, those dark and thick lips, those round eyes, or that woolly hair, which form the specific differences of the negro race. In the same manner, were your family established in America; they would have beards, while a native American will have none. Now extricate yourself from the difficulty, with Adam and Eve only, if you can.

"Who was this 'Melchom,' you ask, who had taken possession of the country of God? A pleasant sort of god, certainly, whom the God of Jeremiah would carry off to be dragged into captivity."*

Ah, ah! M. l'abbé, you are quite smart and lively. You ask, who is this Melchom? I will immediately inform you. Melek or Melkom signified the Lord, as did Adoni or Adonai, Baal or Bel, Adad or Shadai, Eloi or Eloa. Almost all the nations of Syria gave such names to their gods; each had its lord, its protector, its god. Even the name of Jehovah was a Phenician and proper name; this we learn from Sanchoniathon, who was certainly anterior to Moses; and also from Diodorus:

We well know that God is equally the God, the absolute master, of Egyptians and Jews, of all men and all worlds; but it is not in this light that he is represented when Moses appears before Pharaoh. He never speaks to that monarch but in the name of the God of the Hebrews, as an ambassador delivers the orders of the king his master. He speaks so little in the name of the Master of all Nature, that Pharaoh replies to him, "I do not know him." Moses performs prodigies in the name of this God; but the magicians of Pharaoh perform precisely the same prodigies in the name of their own. Hitherto both sides are equal; the contest is, who shall be deemed most powerful, not who shall be deemed alone powerful. At length the God of the Hebrews decidedly carries the day; he manifests a power by far the greater; but not the only

power. Thus, speaking after the manner of men, Pharaoh's incredulity is very excusable. It is the same incredulity as Montezuma exhibited before Cortez, and Ataliba before the Pizarros.

When Joshua called together the Jews, he said to them,*—

“Chuse ye this day whom ye will serve, whether the Gods which your father served, that were on the other side of the flood, or the gods of the Amorites in whose land ye dwell; but as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord.”

The people, therefore, had already given themselves up to other gods, and might serve whom they pleased.†

When the family of Micah, in Ephraim, hire a Levitical priest to conduct the service of a strange god; when the whole tribe of Dan serve the same god as the family of Micah; when a grandson of Moses himself becomes a hired priest of the same god—no one murmurs; every one has his own god, undisturbed; and the grandson of Moses becomes an idolater without any one's reviling or accusing him. At that time, therefore, every one chose his own local god, his own protector.

The same Jews, after the death of Gideon, adore Baal-berith, which means precisely the same as Adonai—the lord, the protector; they change their protector.

Adonai, in the time of Joshua, becomes master of the mountains;‡ but he is unable to overcome the inhabitants of the valleys, because they had chariots armed with scythes.

Can anything more correctly represent the idea of a local deity, a god who is strong in one place, but not so in another?

Jeptha, the son of Gilead and a concubine, says to the Moabites,§—

“Wilt thou not possess what Chemosh, thy god, giveth thee to possess? So whomsoever the Lord our

* Joshua, xxiv. 15.

† Judges, xvii. and xviii.

‡ Joshua, xvii. 16.

§ Judges, xi.

God shall drive out from before us, them will we possess."

It is then perfectly proved; that the undistinguishing Jews, although chosen by the God of the universe, regarded him notwithstanding as a mere local god, the god of a particular territory or people, like the god of the Amorites, or that of the Moabites, of the mountains or of the valleys.

It is unfortunately very evident that it was perfectly indifferent to the grandson of Moses whether he served Micah's god or his grandfather's. It is clear, and cannot but be admitted, that the Jewish religion was not formed, that it was not uniform, till the time of Esdras; and we must, even then, except the Samaritans.

You may now, probably, have some idea of the meaning of this lord or god Melkom. I am not a favourer of his cause—the Lord deliver me from such folly!—but when you remark, "the god which Jeremiah threatened to carry into slavery must be a curious and pleasant sort of deity," I will answer you, M. l'abbé, with this short piece of advice: "From your own house of glass do not throw stones at those of your neighbours."

They were the Jews who were, at that very time, carried off in slavery to Babylon. It was the good Jeremiah himself who was accused of being bribed by the court of Babylon, and of having consequently prophesied in its favour. It was he who was the object of public scorn and hatred, and who it is thought ended his career by being stoned to death by the Jews themselves. This Jeremiah, be assured from me, was never before understood to be a joker.

The God of the Jews, I again repeat, is the God of all nature. I expressly make this repetition that you may have no ground for pretending ignorance of it, and and that you may not accuse me before the ecclesiastical court. I still, however, assert and maintain, that the stupid Jews frequently knew no other god than a local one.

"It is not natural to attribute the tides to the phases of the moon. They are not the high tides which

occur at the full moon, that are ascribed to the phases of that planet."

Here we see ignorance of a different description.

It occasionally happens that persons of a certain description are so much ashamed of the part they play in the world, that they are desirous of disguising themselves sometimes as wits, and sometimes as philosophers.

In the first place, it is proper to inform M. l'abbé, that nothing is more natural than to attribute an effect to that which is always followed by this effect. If a particular wind is constantly followed by rain, it is natural to attribute the rain to the wind. Now, over all the shores of the ocean, the tides are always higher in the moon's 'syzygies,'—if you happen to know the meaning of the term,—than at its quarterings. The moon rises every day later: the tide is also every day later. The nearer the moon approaches our zenith, the greater is the tide; the nearer the moon approaches its perigee, the higher the tide still rises. These experiences and various others, these invariable correspondences with the phases of the moon, were the foundation of the ancient and just opinion, that that body is a principal cause of the flux and reflux of the ocean.

After numerous centuries appeared the great Newton—Are you at all acquainted with Newton? Did you ever hear, that after calculating the square of the progress of the moon in its orbit during the space of a minute, and dividing that square by the diameter of that orbit, he found the quotient to be fifteen feet? that he thence demonstrated that the moon gravitates towards the earth three thousand six hundred times less than if she were near the earth? that he afterwards demonstrated that its attractive force is the cause of three-fourths of the elevation of the sea by the tide, and that the force of the sun is the cause of the remaining fourth? You appear perfectly astonished. You never read anything like this in the "Christian Pedagogue." Endeavour, henceforward, both you and the porters of your parish, never to speak about things of which you have not even the slightest idea.

You can form no conception of the injury you do to religion by your ignorance, and still more by your reasonings. In order to preserve in the world the little faith that remains in it, it would be the most judicious measure possible to restrain you, and such as you, from writing and publishing in behalf of it.

I should absolutely make your astonished eyes stare almost to starting, were I to inform you, that this same Newton was persuaded that Samuel is the author of the Pentateuch. I do not mean to say that he demonstrated it in the same way as he calculated and deduced the power of gravitation. Learn, then, to doubt and to be modest. I believe in the Pentateuch, remember ; but I believe also, that you have printed and published the most enormous absurdities.

I could here transcribe a large volume of instances of your own individual ignorance and imbecility, and many of those of your brethren and colleagues. I shall not, however, take the trouble of doing it. Let us go on with our questions.

SECTION II.

I am ignorant how I was formed, and how I was born. I was perfectly ignorant, for a quarter of my life, of the reasons of all that I saw, heard, and felt, and was a mere parrot, talking by rote in imitation of other parrots.

When I looked about me and within me, I conceived that something existed from all eternity. Since there are beings actually existing, I concluded that there is some being necessary and necessarily eternal. Thus the first step which I took to extricate myself from my ignorance, overpassed the limits of all ages—the boundaries of time.

But when I was desirous of proceeding in this infinite career, I could neither perceive a single path, nor clearly distinguish a single object; and from the flight which I took to contemplate eternity, I have fallen back into the abyss of my original ignorance.

I have seen what is denominated ‘matter,’ from the star Sirius, and the stars of the ‘milky way’ as distant from Sirius as that is from us, to the smallest atom

that can be perceived by the microscope; and yet I know not what matter is.

Light, which has enabled me to see all these different and distant beings, is perfectly unknown to me; I am able by the help of a prism to anatomize this light, and divide it into seven pencillings of rays; but I cannot divide these pencillings themselves; I know not of what they are composed. Light resembles matter in having motion and impinging upon objects, but it does not tend towards a common centre like all other bodies; on the contrary it flies off by some invincible power from the centre, while all matter gravitates towards a centre. Light appears to be penetrable, and matter is impenetrable. Is light matter, or is it not matter? What is it? With what numberless properties can it be invested? I am completely ignorant.

This substance so brilliant, so rapid, and so unknown, and those other substances which float in the immensity of space—seeming to be infinite, are they eternal? I know nothing on the subject. Has a necessary being, sovereignly intelligent, created them from nothing, or has he only arranged them? Did he produce this order in time, or before time? Alas! what is this time, of which I am speaking? I am incapable of defining it. O God, it is thou alone by whom I can be instructed, for I am neither enlightened by the darkness of other men nor by my own.

Mice and moles have their resemblances of structure, in certain respects, to the human frame. What difference can it make to the Supreme Being whether animals like ourselves, or such as mice exist, upon this globe revolving in space with innumerable globes around it?

Why have we being? Why are there any beings?

What is sensation? How have I received it? What connection is there between the air which vibrates on my ear and the sensation of sound? between this body and the sensation of colours? I am perfectly ignorant, and shall ever remain ignorant.

What is thought? Where does it reside? How is it formed? Who gives me thoughts during my sleep?

Is it in virtue of my will that I think? No, for always during sleep, and often when I am awake, I have ideas against, or at least without, my will. These ideas, long forgotten, long put away, and banished in the lumber room of my brain, issue from it without any effort or volition of mine, and suddenly present themselves to my memory, which had, perhaps previously made various vain attempts to recal them.

External objects have not the power of forming ideas in me, for nothing can communicate what it does not possess; I am well assured that they are not given me by myself, for they are produced without my orders. Who then produces them in me? Whence do they come? Whither do they go? Fugitive phantoms! What invisible hand produces and disperses you?

Why, of all the various tribes of animals, has man alone the mad ambition of domineering over his fellows?

Why and how could it happen, that out of a thousand millions of men, more than nine hundred and ninety-nine have been sacrificed to this mad ambition?

How is it that reason is a gift so precious that we would none of us lose it for all the pomp or wealth of the world, and yet at the same time that it has merely served to render us, in almost all cases, the most miserable of beings?

Whence comes it, that with a passionate attachment to truth, we are always yielding to the most palpable impostures?

Why do the vast tribes of India, deceived and enslaved by the bonzes, trampled upon by the descendant of a Tartar, bowed down by labour, groaning in misery, assailed by diseases, and a mark for all the scourges and plagues of life, still fondly cling to that life?

Whence comes evil; and why does it exist?

O atoms of a day! O companions in infinite littleness, born like me to suffer everything, and be ignorant of everything!—are there in reality any among you so completely mad as to imagine you know all this, or that you can solve all these difficulties? Certainly

there can be none. No; in the bottom of your heart you feel your own nothingness, as completely as I do justice to mine. But you are nevertheless arrogant and conceited enough to be eager for our embracing your vain systems; and not having the power to tyrannise over our bodies, you aim at becoming the tyrants of our souls.

IMAGINATION.

SECTION I.

IMAGINATION is the power which every being, endowed with perception and reason, is conscious he possesses of representing to himself sensible objects. This faculty is dependent upon memory. We see men, animals, gardens, which perceptions are introduced by the senses; the memory retains them, and the imagination compounds them. On this account the ancient Greeks called the muses, "the daughters of memory."

It is of great importance to observe, that these faculties of receiving ideas, retaining them, and compounding them, are among the many things of which we can give no explanation. These invisible springs of our being are of nature's workmanship, and not of our own.

Perhaps this gift of God, imagination, is the sole instrument with which we compound ideas, even those which are most abstract and metaphysical.

You pronounce the word 'triangle;' but you merely utter a sound, if you do not represent to yourself the image of some particular triangle. You certainly have no idea of a triangle but in consequence of having seen triangles, if you have the gift of sight, or of having felt them, if you are blind. You cannot think of a triangle in general, unless your imagination figures to itself, at least in a confused way, some particular triangle. You calculate; but it is necessary that you should represent to yourself units added to each other, or your mind will be totally insensible to the operation of your hand.

You utter the abstract terms—greatness, truth, justice, finite, infinite; but is the term ‘greatness,’ thus uttered, anything more or less, than a mere sound; from the action of your tongue, producing vibrations in the air, unless you have the image of some greatness in your mind? What meaning is there in the words ‘truth’ and ‘falsehood,’ if you have not perceived, by means of your senses, that some particular thing which you were told existed, did exist in fact; and that another of which you were told the same, did not exist? And, is it not from this experience, that you frame the general idea of truth and falsehood? And, when asked what you mean by these words, can you help figuring to yourself some sensible image, occasioning you to recollect, that you have sometimes been told, as a fact, what really and truly happened, and very often what was not so?

Have you any other notion of just and unjust, than what is derived from particular actions, which appeared to you respectively of these descriptions? You began in your childhood by learning to read under some master: you endeavoured to spell well, but you really spelt ill: your master chastised you: this appeared to you very unjust. You have observed a labourer refused his wages, and innumerable instances of the like nature. Is the abstract idea of just and unjust any thing more than facts of this character confusedly mixed up in your imagination?

Is ‘finite’ anything else in your conception than the image of some limited quantity or extent? Is ‘infinite’ anything but the image of the same extent or quantity enlarged indefinitely? Do not all these operations take place in your mind just in the same manner as you read a book? You read circumstances and events recorded in it, and never think at the time of the alphabetical characters, without which however you would have no notion of these events and circumstances. Attend to this point for a single moment, and then you will distinctly perceive the essential importance of those characters over which your eye previously glided without thinking of them. In the

same manner all your reasonings, all your accumulations of knowledge, are founded on images traced in your brain. You have, in general, no distinct perception or recollection of them; but give the case only a moment's attention, and you will then clearly discern, that these images are the foundation of all the notions you possess. It may be worth the reader's while to dwell a little upon this idea, to extend it, and to rectify it.

The celebrated Addison, in the eleven essays upon the imagination with which he has enriched the volumes of the Spectator, begins with observing, that "the sense of sight is the only one which furnishes the imagination with ideas." Yet certainly it must be allowed, that the other senses contribute some share. A man born blind still hears, in his imagination, the harmony which no longer vibrates upon his ear; he still continues listening as in a trance or dream; the objects which have resisted or yielded to his hands produce a similar effect in his head or mind. It is true that the sense of sight alone supplies images; and as it is a kind of touching or feeling which extends even to the distance of the stars, its immense diffusion enriches the imagination more than all the other senses put together.

There are two descriptions of imagination; one consists in retaining a simple impression of objects; the other arranges the images received, and combines them in endless diversity. The first has been called passive imagination, and the second active. The passive scarcely advances beyond memory and is common to man and to animals. From this power or faculty it arises, that the sportsman and his dog both follow the hunted game in their dreams, that they both hear the sound of the horn, and the one shouts and the other barks in their sleep. Both men and brutes do something more than recollect on these occasions, for dreams are never faithful and accurate images. This species of imagination compounds objects, but it is not the understanding which acts in it; it is the memory labouring under error.

This passive imagination certainly requires no assistance from volition, whether we are asleep or awake;

it paints, independently of ourselves, what our eyes have seen, it hears what our ears have heard, and touches what we have touched; it adds to it or takes from it. It is an internal sense, acting necessarily, and accordingly there is nothing more common, in speaking of any particular individual, than to say, "he has no command over his imagination."

In this respect we cannot but see, and be astonished at, the slight share of power we really possess. Whence comes it, that occasionally in dreams we compose the most coherent and eloquent discourses, and verses far superior to what we should write on the same subject if perfectly awake?—that we even solve complicated problems in mathematics? Here certainly there are very combined and complex ideas in no degree dependent on ourselves. But if it is incontestible that coherent ideas are formed within us independently of our will in sleep, who can safely assert that they are not produced in the same manner when we are awake? Is there a man living who foresees the idea which he will form in his mind the ensuing minute? Does it not seem as if ideas were given to us as much as the motions of our fibres; and had father Malebranche merely maintained the principle, that all ideas are given by God, could any one have successfully opposed him?

This passive faculty, independent of reflection, is the source of our passions and our errors; far from being dependent on the will, the will is determined by it. It urges us towards the objects which it paints before us, or diverts us from them, just according to the nature of the exhibition thus made of them by it. The image of a danger inspires fear; that of a benefit excites desire. It is this faculty alone which produces the enthusiasm of glory, of party, of fanaticism; it is this which produces so many mental alienations and disorders, making weak brains, when powerfully impressed, conceive that their bodies are metamorphosed into various animals, that they are possessed by demons, that they are under the infernal dominion of witchcraft; and that they are in reality going to unite with sorcerers in the worship of the devil, because they have been

told that they were going to do so. This species of slavish imagination, which generally is the lot of ignorant people, has been the instrument which the imagination of some men has employed to acquire and retain power. It is, moreover, this passive imagination of brains easily excited and agitated, which sometimes produces on the bodies of children evident marks of the impression received by the mother; examples of this kind are indeed innumerable, and the writer of this article has seen some so striking, that, were he to deny them, he must contradict his own ocular demonstration. This effect of imagination is incapable of being explained; but every other operation of nature is equally so; we have no clearer idea how we have perceptions, how we retain them, or how we combine them. There is an infinity between us and the springs or first principles of our nature.

Active imagination is that which joins combination and reflection to memory. It brings near to us many objects at a distance; it separates those mixed together, compounds them, and changes them; it seems to create, while in fact it merely arranges: for it has not been given to man to make ideas—he is only able to modify them.

This active imagination then is in reality a faculty as independent of ourselves as passive imagination; and one proof of its not depending upon ourselves is, that if we propose to a hundred persons, equally ignorant, to imagine a certain new machine, ninety-nine of them will form no imagination at all about it, notwithstanding all their endeavours. If the hundredth imagines something, is it not clear that it is a particular gift or talent which he has received? It is this gift which is called 'genius;' it is in this that we recognise something inspired and divine.

This gift of nature is an imagination inventive in the arts—in the disposition of a picture, in the structure of a poem. It cannot exist without memory, but it uses memory as an instrument with which it produces all its performances.

In consequence of having seen that a large stone

which the hand of a man could not move, might be moved by means of a staff, active imagination invented levers, and afterwards compound moving forces, which are no other than disguised levers. It is necessary to figure in the mind the machines with their various effects and processes, in order to the actual production of them.

It is not this description of imagination that is called by the vulgar the enemy of judgment. On the contrary, it can only act in union with profound judgment; it incessantly combines its pictures, corrects its errors, and raises all its edifices according to calculation and upon a plan. There is an astonishing imagination in practical mathematics; and Archimedes had at least as much imagination as Homer. It is by this power that a poet creates his personages, appropriates to them characters and manners, invents his fable, presents the exposition of it, constructs its complexity, and prepares its development: a labour, all this, requiring judgment the most profound and the most delicately discriminative.

A very high degree of art is necessary in all these imaginative inventions, and even in romances. Those which are deficient in this quality are neglected and despised by all minds of natural good taste. An invariably sound judgment pervades all the fables of Æsop. They will never cease to be the delight of mankind. There is more imagination in the Fairy Tales; but these fantastic imaginations, destitute of order and good sense, can never be in high esteem; they are read childishly, and must be condemned by reason.

The second part of active imagination is that of detail, and it is this to which the world distinguishingly applies the term. It is this which constitutes the charm of conversation, for it is constantly presenting to the mind what mankind are most fond of,—new objects. It paints in vivid colours what men of cold and reserved temperament hardly sketch; it employs the most striking circumstances; it cites the most appropriate examples; and when this talent displays itself in union

with the modesty and simplicity which become and adorn all talents, it conciliates to itself an empire over society. Man is so completely a machine, that wine sometimes produces this imagination, as intoxication destroys it. This is a topic to excite at once humiliation and wonder. How can it happen that a small quantity of a certain liquor, which would prevent a man from effecting an important calculation, shall at the same time bestow on him the most brilliant ideas?

It is in poetry particularly that this imagination of detail and expression ought to prevail. It is always agreeable, but there it is necessary. In Homer, Virgil, and Horace, almost all is imagery, without even the reader's perceiving it. Tragedy requires fewer images, fewer picturesque expressions and sublime metaphors and allegories, than the epic poem and the ode; but the greater part of these beauties, under discreet and able management, produce an admirable effect in tragedy; they should never, however, be forced, stiltish, or gigantic.

Active imagination, which constitutes men poets, confers on them enthusiasm,—according to the true meaning of the Greek word, that internal emotion which in reality agitates the mind and transforms the author into the personage whom he introduces as the speaker; for such is the true enthusiasm, which consists in emotion and in imagery. An author under this influence says precisely what would be said by the character he is exhibiting.

Less imagination is admissible in eloquence than in poetry. The reason is obvious;—ordinary discourse should be less remote from common ideas. The orator speaks the language of all: the foundation of the poet's performance is fiction. Accordingly, imagination is the essence of his art: to the orator it is only an accessory.

Particular traits or touches of imagination have, it is observed, added great beauties to painting. That artifice especially is often cited, by which the artist covers with a veil the head of Agamemnon at the sa-

crifice of Iphigenia; an expedient, nevertheless, far less beautiful than if the painter had possessed the secret of exhibiting in the countenance of Agamemnon the conflict between the grief of a father, the majesty of a monarch, and the resignation of a good man to the will of heaven; as Rubens had the skill to paint in the looks and attitude of Mary of Medicis the pain of childbirth, the joy of being delivered of a son, and the maternal affection with which she looks upon her child.

In general, the imaginations of painters when they are merely ingenious, contribute more to exhibit the learning in the artist than to increase the beauties of the art. All the allegorical compositions in the world are not worth the masterly execution and fine finish which constitute the true value of paintings.

In all the arts, the most beautiful imagination is always the most natural. The false is that which brings together objects incompatible; the extravagant paints object which have no analogy, allegory, or resemblance. A strong imagination explores everything to the bottom; a weak one skims over the surface; the placid one reposes in agreeable pictures; the ardent one piles images upon images. The judicious or sage imagination is that which employs with discrimination all these different characters, but which rarely admits the extravagant and always rejects the false.

If memory nourished and exercised be the source of all imagination, that same faculty of memory, when overcharged, becomes the extinction of it. Accordingly, the man whose head is full of names and dates does not possess that storehouse of materials from which he can derive compound images. Men occupied in calculation, or with intricate matters of business, have generally a very barren imagination.

When imagination is remarkably stirring and ardent, it may easily degenerate into madness; but it has been observed, that this morbid affection of the organs of the brain more frequently attaches to those passive imaginations which are limited to receiving strong impressions of objects, than to those fervent and active

ones which collect and combine ideas; for this active imagination, always requires the association of judgment, the other is independent of it.

It is not perhaps useless to add to this essay, that by the words perception, memory, imagination, and judgment, we do not mean distinct and separate organs, one of which has the gift of perceiving, another of recollecting, the third of imagining, and the last of judging. Men are more inclined than some are aware to consider these as completely distinct and separate faculties. It is however one and the same being that performs all these operations, which we know only by their effects, without being able to know anything of that being itself.

SECTION II.

Brutes possess imagination as well as ourselves; your dog, for example, hunts in his dreams.

"Objects are painted in the fancy," says Descartes, as others have also said. Certainly they are; but what is the fancy, and how are objects painted in it? Is it with "the subtle matter?" How can I tell? is the appropriate answer to all questions thus affecting the first principles of human organization.

Nothing enters the understanding without an image. It was necessary, in order to our obtaining the confused idea we possess of infinite space, that we should have an idea of a space of a few feet. It is necessary, in order to our having the idea of God, that the image of something more powerful than ourselves should have long dwelt upon our minds.

We do not create a single idea or image. I defy you to create one. Ariosto did not make Astolfo travel to the moon till long after he had heard of the moon, of St. John, and of the Paladins.

We make no images; we only collect and combine them. The extravagancies of the Thousand and One Nights and the Fairy Tales are merely combinations.

He who comprises most images in the storehouse of his memory, is the person who possesses most imagination.

The difficulty is in not bringing together these images in profusion, without any selection. You might employ a whole day in representing, without any toilsome effort, and almost without any attention, a fine old man with a long beard, clothed in ample drapery, and borne in the midst of a cloud resting on chubby children with beautiful wings attached to their shoulders; or upon an eagle of immense size and grandeur; all the gods and animals surrounding him; golden tripods running to arrive at his council; wheels revolving by their own self-motion, advancing as they revolve; having four faces covered with eyes, ears, tongues, and noses; and between these tripods and wheels an immense multitude of dead resuscitated by the crash of thunder; the celestial spheres dancing and joining in harmonious concert, &c. &c. The lunatic asylum abounds in such imaginations.

We may, on the subject of imagination, distinguish,—

1. The imagination which disposes the events of a poem, romance, tragedy, or comedy; and which attaches the characters and passions to the different personages. This requires the profoundest judgment and the most exquisite knowledge of the human heart; talents absolutely indispensable; but with which, however, nothing has yet been done but merely laying the foundation of the edifice.

2. The imagination which gives to all these personages the eloquence or diction appropriate to their rank, suitable to their situation. Here is the great art and difficulty; but even after doing this they have not done enough.

3. The imagination in the expression, by which every word paints an image in the mind without astonishing or overwhelming it; as in Virgil:—

. . . . Remigium alarum.

Æneid, vi. 19.

Mœrentem abjungens fraterna morte juvenum.

Georgics, iii. 517.

. . . . Velorum pandimus alas.

Æneid, iii. 520.

M 3

Pendent circum oscula nati.

Georg. ii. 523.

Immortale jecur tundens fecundaque penis
Viscera.

Æneid, vi. 598, 599.

Et caligantem nigra formidine lucum.

Georg. iv. 468.

Fata vocant, conditque natantia lumina somnus.

Georg. iv. 496.

Virgil is full of these picturesque expressions, with which he enriched the Latin language, and which are so difficult to be translated into our European jargons,—the crooked and lame offspring of a well-formed and majestic sire, but which however have some merit of their own, and have done some tolerably good things in their way.

There is an astonishing imagination, even in the science of mathematics. An inventor must begin with painting correctly in his mind the figure, the machine invented by him, and its properties or effects. We repeat there was far more imagination in the head of Archimedes than in that of Homer.

As the imagination of a great mathematician must possess extreme precision, so must that of a great poet be exceedingly correct and chaste. He must never present images that are incompatible with each other, incoherent, highly exaggerated, or unsuitable to the nature of the subject.

The great fault of some writers who have appeared since the age of Louis XIV. is, attempting a constant display of imagination, and fatiguing the reader by the profuse abundance of far-fetched images and double rhymes, one half of which may be pronounced absolutely useless. It is this which has at length brought into neglect and obscurity a number of small poems, such as *Ver Vert*, *The Chartreuse*, and *The Shades*, which at one period possessed considerable celebrity. Mere sounding superfluity soon finds oblivion.

Omne supervacuum pleno de pectore manat.

HORACE, *Art of Poetry*, 837.

The active and the passive imagination have been distinguished in the *Encyclopedia*. The active is that of which we have treated. It is the talent of forming new pictures out of all those contained in our memory.

The passive is scarcely anything beyond memory itself, even in a brain under strong emotion. A man of an active and fervent imagination, a preacher of the League in France, or a puritan in England, harangues the populace with a voice of thunder, with an eye of fire, and the gesture of a demoniac, and represents Jesus Christ as demanding justice of the Eternal Father for the new wounds he has received from the royalists, for the nails which have been driven for the second time through his feet and hands by these impious miscreants. Avenge, O God the Father, avenge the blood of God the Son; march under the banner of the Holy Spirit; it was formerly a dove, but is now an eagle bearing thunder! The passive imaginations, roused and stimulated by these images, by the voice, by the action of those sanguinary empirics, urge the maddening hearers to rush with fury from the chapel or meeting-house, to kill their opponents and get themselves hanged.

Persons of passive imaginations, for the sake of high and violent excitement, go sometimes to the sermon and sometimes to the play; sometimes to the place of execution; and sometimes even to what they suppose to be the midnight and appalling meetings of presumed sorcerers.

IMPIOUS.

Who is the impious man? It is he who exhibits the Being of Beings, the great Former of the world, the Eternal Intelligence by whom all nature is governed, with a long white beard, and having hands and feet. He however is pardonable for his impiety; a weak and ignorant creature, the sight or conduct of whom we ought not to allow to provoke or to vex us.

If he should even paint that great and incomprehensible Being as carried on a cloud, which can carry no-

thing; if he is so stupid as to place God in a mist, in rain, or on a mountain, and to surround him with little round, chubby, painted faces, accompanied by two wings,—I can smile, and pardon him with all my heart.

The impious man, who ascribes to the Being of Beings absurd predictions and absolute iniquities, would certainly provoke me, if that great Being had not bestowed upon me the gift of reason to control my anger. This senseless fanatic repeats to me once more what thousands of others have said before him, that it is not our province to decide what is reasonable and just in the great Being; that his reason is not like our reason, nor his justice like our justice. What then my rather too absurd and zealous friend, would you really wish me to judge of justice and reason by any other notions than I have of them myself? Would you have me walk otherwise than with my feet, or speak otherwise than with my mouth?

The impious man, who supposes the great Being to be jealous, proud, malignant, and vindictive, is more dangerous. I would not sleep under the same roof with such a man.

But how will you treat the impious man, the daring blasphemer, who says to you—See only with my eyes; do not think yourself; I proclaim to you a tyrant God, who ordained me to be your tyrant; I am his well-beloved; he will torment to all eternity millions of his creatures, whom he detests, for the sake of gratifying me; I will be your master in this world, and will laugh at your torments in the next?

Do you not feel a very strong inclination to beat this cruel blasphemer? and, even if you happen to be born with a meek and forgiving spirit, would you not fly with the utmost speed to the west, when this barbarian utters his atrocious reveries in the east?

With respect to another and very different class of the impious,—those who, while washing their elbows, neglect to turn their faces towards Aleppo and Erivan, or who do not kneel down in the dirt on seeing a procession of capuchin friars at Perpignan, they are cer-

tainly culpable; but I hardly think they ought to be impeled.

IMPOST.

SECTION I.

So many philosophical works have been written on the nature of impost, that we need say very little about it here. It is true, that nothing is less philosophical than this subject; but it may enter into moral philosophy by representing to a superintendant of finances or to a Turkish Tefardar, that it accords not with universal morals to take his neighbour's money; and that all receivers and custom-house officers and collectors of taxes are cursed in the gospel.

Cursed as they are, it must however be agreed, that it is impossible for a society to subsist unless each member pays something towards the expense of it; and as, since every one ought to pay, it is necessary to have a receiver, we do not see why this receiver is to be cursed and regarded as an idolater. There is certainly no idolatry in receiving money of guests to pay for their supper.

In republics, and states which with the name of kingdoms are really republics, every individual is taxed according to his means and the wants of society.

In despotic kingdoms—or to speak more politely—in monarchical states, it is not quite the same—the nation is taxed without consulting it. An agriculturist who has twelve hundred livres of revenue, is quite astonished when four hundred are demanded of him. There are several who are even obliged to pay more than half of what they receive.*

* Let us confess, that if there are some republics which pretend to consult the nation, there is perhaps not a single one in which it really is consulted.

Let us avow, that in England, though exempted from all personal impost, there is as much disproportion in the taxes, partial exactions, and false charges, as in any monarchy. Finally, let us avow, that it is very possible for the legislative body in a republic to be interested in maintaining a bad system of taxation, whilst a monarch can have no interest in it. Thus, the people of a republic

The cultivator demands why the half of his fortune is taken from him to pay soldiers, when the hundredth part would suffice. He is answered that, besides the soldiers, he must pay for luxury and the arts; that nothing is lost; and that in Persia towns and villages are assigned to the queen to pay for her girdles, slippers, and pins.

He replies, that he knows nothing of the history of Persia, and that he should be very indignant if half his fortune was taken for girdles, pins, and shoes; that he would furnish them from a better market; and that he endures a grievous imposition.

He is made to hear reason by being put into a dungeon and having his goods put up to sale. If he resists the tax collectors whom the New Testament has damned, he is hanged,—which renders all his neighbours infinitely accommodating.

Were this money employed by the sovereign in importing spices from India, coffee from Mocha, English and Arabian horses, silks from the Levant, and gewgaws from China, it is clear that in a few years there would not remain a single sous in the kingdom. The taxes, therefore, serve to maintain the manufactures; and so far what is poured into the coffers of the prince returns to the cultivators. They suffer, they complain, and other parts of the state suffer and complain also; but at the end of the year they find that every one has laboured and lived some way or other.

If by chance a clown goes to the capital, he sees with astonishment a fine lady dressed in a gown of silk embroidered with gold, drawn in a magnificent carriage by two valuable horses, and followed by four lacqueys dressed in a cloth of twenty francs an ell. He addresses himself to one of these lacqueys, and says to

may have to fear the error and corruption of their leaders, whilst the subjects of a monarch have only his personal errors to dread.

Voltaire reasons as soundly upon British taxation as if he thoroughly understood breweries, taxation, corn laws, and Irish tithes. His concluding observations in this note are more specious than sound.—T.

him—Sir, where does this lady get money to make such an expensive appearance? My friend, says the lacquey, the king allows her a pension of forty thousand livres. Alas! says the rustic, it is my village which pays this pension. Yes, answers the servant; but the silk that you have gathered and sold has made the stuff in which she is dressed; my cloth is a part of thy sheep's wool; my baker has made my bread of thy corn; thou hast sold at market the very fowls that we eat: thus thou see'st that the pension of madame returns to thee and thy comrades.

The peasant does not absolutely agree with the axioms of this philosophical lacquey; but one proof that there is something true in his answer is, that the village exists, and produces children who also complain, and who bring forth children again to complain.

SECTION II.

If we were obliged to read all the edicts of taxation, and all the books written against them, that would be the greatest tax of all.

We well know that taxes are necessary, and that the malediction pronounced in the gospel only regards those who abuse their employment to harass the people. Perhaps the copyist forgot a word, as for instance the epithet *pravus*. It might have meant *pravus publicanus*; this word was much more necessary, as the general malediction is a formal contradiction to the words put into the mouth of Jesus Christ: "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's." Certainly those who collected the dues of Cæsar ought not to have been held in horror. It would have been, at once, insulting the order of Roman knights and the emperor himself; nothing could have been more ill-advised.

In all civilized countries the imposts are very great, because the charges of the state are very heavy. In Spain the articles of commerce sent to Cadiz, and thence to America, pay more than thirty per cent. before their transit is accomplished.

In England all duty upon importation is very con-

siderable: however, it is paid without murmuring; there is even a pride in paying it. A merchant boasts of putting four or five thousand guineas a year into the public treasury. The richer a country is, the heavier are the taxes. Speculators would have taxes fall on landed productions only. What! having sown a field of flax, which will bring me two hundred crowns, by which flax a great manufacturer will gain two hundred thousand crowns by converting it into lace,—must this manufacturer pay nothing, and shall I pay all, because it is produced by my land? The wife of this manufacturer will furnish the queen and princesses with fine point of Alençon; she will be patronised; her son will become intendant of justice, police, and finance, and will augment my taxes in my miserable old age. Ah! gentlemen speculators, you calculate badly; you are unjust.*

The great point is, that an entire people be not despoiled by an army of alguazils, in order that a score of town or court leeches may drink its blood.

The duke de Sulli relates, in his Political Economy, that in 1585 there were just twenty lords interested in the leases of farms, to whom the highest bidders gave three millions two hundred and forty-eight thousand crowns.

It was still worse under Charles IX. and Francis I. and Louis XIII. There was not less depredation in the minority of Louis XIV. France, notwithstanding so many wounds, is still in being. Yes; but if it had not received them it would have been in better health. It is thus with several other states.†

SECTION III.

It is just that those who enjoy the advantages of a government should support the charges. The ecclesiastics and monks, who possess great property, for this

* See the notes to *L'Homme aux Quarante Ecus*.

† Such were the causes of the Revolution of France and of other states, and not the writings of men of genius like Voltaire, as interested fanatics and sophists would fain have the world believe.—T.

season should contribute to the taxes in all countries, like other citizens.

In the times which we call barbarous, great benefices and abbeys were taxed in France to the third of their revenue.

By a statute of the year 1188, Philip Augustus imposed a tenth of the revenues of all benefices.

Philip le Bel caused the fifth, afterwards the fifteenth, and finally the twentieth part, to be paid, of all the possessions of the clergy.

King John, by a statute of the 12th of March, 1355, taxed bishops, abbots, chapters, and all ecclesiastics generally, to the tenth of the revenue of their benefices and patrimonies.* The same prince confirmed this tax by two other statutes, one of the 3rd of March, the other of the 28th of December, 1358.†

In the letters-patent of Charles V. of the 22nd of June, 1372, it is decreed, that the churchmen shall pay taxes and other real and personal imposts.‡ These letters-patent were renewed by Charles VI. in 1390.

How is it, that these laws have been abolished, while so many monstrous customs and sanguinary decrees have been preserved?§

The clergy, indeed, pay a tax under the name of a free-gift, and, as it is known, it is principally the poorest and most useful part of the church, the curates, (rectors) who pay this tax. But, why this difference and inequality of contributions between the citizens of the same state? Why do those who enjoy the greatest prerogatives, and who are sometimes useless to the public, pay less than the labourer, who is so necessary?

The republic of Venice supplies rules on this subject, which should serve as examples to all Europe.

SECTION IV.

Churchmen have not only pretended to be exempt

* Ord du Louvre, tom. iv.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid, tom. v.

§ How is it that English and Irish first fruits are reduced to an ancient and almost nominal value, while the church in both countries collects to the extent of modern value?—T.

from taxes, they have found the means in several provinces to tax the people, and make them pay as a legitimate right.

In several countries, monks having seized the tithes to the prejudice of the rectors, the peasants are obliged to tax themselves, to furnish their pastors with subsistence;* and thus in several villages, above all, in Franche Comté, besides the tithes which the parishioners pay to the monks or to chapters, they further pay three or four measures of corn to their curates or rectors.

This tax was called the right of harvest in some provinces, and boisselage in others.

It is no doubt right, that curates should be well paid, but it would be much better to give them a part of the tithes which the monks have taken from them, than to overcharge the poor cultivator.

Since the king of France fixed the competent allowances for the curates, by his edict of the month of May, 1768, and charged the tithe-collectors with paying them, peasants should no longer be held to pay a second tithe, a tax to which they only voluntarily submitted at a time when the influence and violence of the monks had taken from their pastors all means of subsistence.

The king has abolished this second tithe in Poictou, by letters-patent of the month of July, 1769, registered by the parliament of Paris the 11th of the same month.

It would be well worthy the justice and beneficence of his majesty to make a similar law for other provinces, which are in the same situation as those of Poictou, Franche Comté, &c.

By M. CHR. Advocate of Besançon.

IMPOTENCE.

I COMMENCE by this question, in favour of the impotent—‘*frigidi et maleficiati*,’ as they are denominated in

* Exactly the state of the case in Ireland at this moment, dele monks.—T.

the decretals—Is there a physician, or experienced person of any description, who can be certain that a well-formed young man, who has had no children by his wife, may not have them some day or other? Nature may know, but men can tell nothing about it. Since then it is impossible to decide that the marriage may not be consummated some time or other, why dissolve it?

Among the Romans, on the suspicion of impotence, a delay of two years was allowed, and in the Novels of Justinian three are required; but if in three years Nature may bestow capability, she may equally do so in seven, ten, or twenty.

Those called 'maleficiati' by the ancients were often considered bewitched. These charms were very ancient, and as there were some to take away virility, so there were others to restore it; both of which are alluded to in Petronius.

This illusion lasted a long time among us, who exorcised instead of disenchanting; and when exorcism succeeded not, the marriage was dissolved.

The canon law made a great question of impotence. Might a man who was prevented by sorcery from consummating his marriage, after being divorced and having children by a second wife—might such man, on the death of the latter wife, reject the first, should she lay claim to him? All the great canonists decided in the negative—Alexander de Nevo, Andrew Alberic, Turrecremata, Soto, and fifty more.

It is impossible to help admiring the sagacity displayed by the canonists, and above all by the religious of irreproachable manners, in their development of the mysteries of sexual intercourse. There is no singularity, however strange, on which they have not treated. They have discussed at length all the cases in which capability may exist at one time or situation, and impotence in another. They have inquired into all the imaginary inventions to assist nature; and with the avowed object of distinguishing that which is allowable from that which is not, have exposed all which ought

to remain veiled. It might be said of them—" *Nox nocti indicat scientiam.*"

Above all, Sanchez has distinguished himself in collecting cases of conscience which the boldest wife would hesitate to submit to the most prudent of matrons. One query leads to another in almost endless succession, until at length a question of the most direct and extraordinary nature is put, as to the manner of the communication of the Holy Ghost with the Virgin Mary.*

These extraordinary researches were never made by anybody in the world except theologians; and suits in relation to impotency were unknown until the days of Theodosius.

In the gospel, divorce is spoken of as allowable for adultery alone. The Jewish law permitted a husband to repudiate a wife who displeased him, without specifying the cause. "If she found no favour in his eyes, that was sufficient." It is the law of the strongest, and exhibits human nature in its most barbarous garb. The Jewish laws treat not of impotency; it would appear, says a casuist, that God would not permit impotency to exist among a people who were to multiply like the sands on the sea-shore, and to whom he had sworn to bestow the immense country which lies between the Nile and Euphrates, and, by his prophets, to make lords of the whole earth. To fulfil these divine promises, it was necessary that every honest Jew should be occupied without ceasing in the great work of propagation. There was certainly a curse upon impotency; the time not having then arrived for the devout to make themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven.

Marriage in the course of time having arrived at the dignity of a sacrament and a mystery, the ecclesiastics insensibly became judges of all which took place between husband and wife, and not only so, but of all which did not take place.

* Voltaire gives us a few instances in the Latin, but although covered, as Gibbon observes, by the decent veil of a dead language, they are as well omitted.—T.

Wives possessed the liberty of presenting a request to be *embesognées*—such being our Gallic term, although the causes were carried on in Latin. Clerks pleaded, and priests pronounced judgment, and the process was uniformly to decide two points—whether the man was bewitched, or the woman wanted another husband.

What appears most extraordinary is, that all the canonists agree, that a husband whom a spell or charm has rendered impotent, cannot in conscience apply to other charms or magicians to destroy it. This resembles the reasoning of the regularly admitted surgeons, who having the exclusive privilege of spreading a plaister, assure us that we shall certainly die if we allow ourselves to be cured by the hand which has hurt us. It might have been as well in the first place to inquire whether a sorcerer can really operate upon the virility of another man. It may be added, that many weak-minded persons feared the sorcerer more than they confided in the exorcist. The sorcerer having deranged nature, holy water alone would not restore it.

In the cases of impotency in which the devil took no part, the presiding ecclesiastics were not less embarrassed. We have, in the Decretals, the famous head “*De frigidis et maleficiatis*,” which is very curious, but altogether uninforming. The political use made of it is exemplified in the case of Henry IV. of Castile, who was declared impotent, while surrounded by mistresses, and possessed of a wife by whom he had an heiress to the throne; but it was an archbishop of Toledo who pronounced this sentence, not the pope.

Alfonso king of Portugal was treated in the same manner, in the middle of the seventeenth century. This prince was known chiefly by his ferocity, debauchery, and prodigious strength of body. His brutal excesses disgusted the nation; and the queen his wife, a princess of Nemours, being desirous of dethroning him, and marrying the infant Don Pedro his brother, was aware of the difficulty of wedding two brothers in succession, after the known circumstance of consummation with the elder. The example of Henry VIII. of England intimidated her, and she embraced the

resolution of causing her husband to be declared impotent by the chapter of the cathedral of Lisbon; after which she hastened to marry his brother, without even waiting for the dispensation of the pope.

The most important proof of capability required from persons accused of impotency, is that called "the congress." The president Boubier says, that this combat in an inclosed field was adopted in France in the fourteenth century. And he asserts that it is known in France only.

This proof, about which so much noise has been made, was not conducted precisely as people have imagined. It has been supposed that a conjugal consummation took place under the inspection of physicians, surgeons, and midwives, but such was not the fact. The parties went to bed in the usual manner, and at a proper time the inspectors, who were assembled in the next room, were called on to pronounce upon the case.

In the famous process of the marquis de Langeais, decided in 1659, he demanded "the congress:" and owing to the management of his lady (Marie de St. Simon) succeeded not. He demanded a second trial, but the judges, fatigued with the clamours of the superstitious, the complaints of the prudens, and the raillery of the wits, refused it. They declared the marquis impotent, his marriage void, forbade him to marry again, and allowed his wife to take another husband. The marquis however disregarded this sentence, and married Diana de Navailles, by whom he had seven children!

His first wife being dead, the marquis appealed to the grand chamberlain against the sentence which had declared him impotent, and charged him with the costs. The grand chamberlain, sensible of the ridicule applicable to the whole affair, confirmed his marriage with Diana de Navailles, declared him most potent, refused him the costs, but abolished the ceremony of the congress altogether.

The president Boubier published a defence of the proof by congress, when it was no longer in use. He maintained, that the judges would not have com-

mitted the error of abolishing it, had they not been guilty of the previous error of refusing the marquis a second trial.

But if the congress may prove indecisive, how much more uncertain are the various other examinations had recourse to in cases of alleged impotency? Ought not the whole of them to be adjourned, as in Athens, for a hundred years? These causes are shameful to wives, ridiculous for husbands, and unworthy of the tribunals, and it would be better not to allow of them at all.—Yes, it may be said, but, in that case, marriage would not insure issue.—A great misfortune, truly, while Europe contains three hundred thousand monks and eighty thousand nuns, who voluntarily abstain from propagating their kind.

INALIENATION—INALIENABLE.

THE domains of the Roman emperors were anciently inalienable—it was the sacred domain. The barbarians came and rendered it altogether alienable. The same thing happened to the imperial Greek domain.

After the re-establishment of the Roman empire in Germany, the sacred domain was declared inalienable by the priests, although there remains not at present a crown's worth of territory to alienate.

All the kings of Europe, who affect to imitate the emperors, have had their inalienable domain. Francis I. having effected his liberty by the cession of Burgundy, could find no other expedient to preserve it, than a state declaration, that Burgundy was inalienable; and was so fortunate as to violate both his honour and the treaty with impunity. According to this jurisprudence, every king may acquire the dominions of another, while incapable of losing any of his own. So that, in the end, each would be possessed of the property of somebody else. The kings of France and England possess very little special domain: their genuine and more effective domain is the purses of their subjects.*

* The principle of the inalienability of the French domain has

INCEST.

"THE Tartars," says the Spirit of Laws, "who may legally wed their daughters, never espouse their mothers."

It is not known of what Tartars our author speaks, who cites too much at random: we know not at present of any people, from the Crimea to the frontiers of China, who are in the habit of espousing their daughters. Moreover, if it be allowed for the father to marry his daughter, why may not a son wed his mother?

Montesquieu cites an author named Priscus Panetes, a sophist who lived in the time of Attila. This author says, that Attila married with his daughter Esca, according to the manner of the Scythians. This Priscus has never been printed, but remains in manuscript in the library of the Vatican; and Jornandes alone makes mention of it. It is not allowable to quote the legislation of a people on such authority. No one knows this Esca, or ever heard of her marriage with her father Attila.

I confess I have never believed that the Persians espoused their daughters, although in the time of the Cæsars the Romans accused them of it, to render them odious. It might be that some Persian prince committed incest, and the turpitude of an individual was imputed to the whole nation.

Quidquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.

HORACE, book i. epistle ii. 14.

... . When doting monarchs urge
Unsound resolves, their subjects feel the scourge.

FRANCIS.

I believe that the ancient Persians were permitted to marry with their sisters, just as much as I believe it of the Athenians, the Egyptians, and even of the Jews. From the above it might be concluded, that it was

never prevented its distribution to courtiers, nor its dissipation in a vile purchase of their political assistance, for sinister purposes.—*French Ed.*

common for children to marry with their fathers or mothers; whereas even the marriage of cousins is forbidden among the Guebres at this day, who are held to maintain the doctrines of their forefathers as scrupulously as the Jews.

You will tell me, that everything is contradictory in this world; that it was forbidden by the Jewish law to marry two sisters, which was deemed a very indecent act, and yet Jacob married Rachael during the life of her elder sister Leah; and that this Rachael is evidently a type of the Roman catholic and apostolic church. You are doubtless right, but that prevents not an individual who sleeps with two sisters in Europe from being grievously censured. As to powerful and dignified princes, they may take the sisters of their wives for the good of their states, and even their own sisters by the same father and mother, if they think proper.

It is a far worse affair to have a commerce with a gossip or godmother, which was deemed an unpardonable offence by the capitularies of Charlemagne, being called a spiritual incest.

One Andovere, who is called queen of France, because she was the wife of a certain Chilperic, who reigned over Soissons, was stigmatised by ecclesiastical justice, censured, degraded, and divorced, for having borne her own child to the baptismal font. It was a mortal sin, a sacrilege, a spiritual incest; and she thereby forfeited her marriage-bed and crown. This apparently contradicts what I have just observed, that everything in the way of love is permitted to the great, but then I spoke of present times, and not those of Andovere.

As to carnal incest, read the advocate Voglan, who would absolutely have any two cousins burned who fall into a weakness of this kind. The advocate Voglan is rigorous—the unmerciful Celt!*

* Part viii. title iii. 119.

INCUBUS.

HAVE there ever been incubi and succubi? Our learned jurisconsults and demonologists admit both the one and the other.

It is pretended that Satan, always on the alert, inspires young ladies and gentlemen with heated dreams, and by a sort of double process produces extraordinary consequences, which in point of fact led to the birth of so many heroes and demigods in ancient times.

The devil took a great deal of superfluous trouble: he had only to leave the young people alone, and the world will be sufficiently supplied with heroes without any assistance from him.

An idea may be formed of incubi by the explanation of the great Delrio, of Boguets, and other writers learned in sorcery; but they fail in their account of succubi. A female might pretend to believe that she had communicated with and was pregnant by a god, the explication of Delrio being very favourable to the assumption. The devil in this case acts the part of an incubus, but his performances as a succubus are more inconceivable. The gods and goddesses of antiquity acted much more nobly and decorously: Jupiter in person, was the incubus of Alcmena and Semele; Thetis in person, the succubus of Peleus, and Venus of Anchises, without having recourse to the various contrivances of our extraordinary demonism.

Let us simply observe, that the gods frequently disguised themselves, in their pursuit of our girls, sometimes as an eagle, sometimes as a pigeon, a swan, a horse, a shower of gold; but the goddesses assumed no disguise: they had only to show themselves, to please. It must however be presumed, that whatever shapes the gods assumed to steal a march, they consummated their loves in the form of men.

As to the new manner of rendering girls pregnant by the ministry of the devil, it is not to be doubted, for the Sorbonne decided the point in the year 1318.

"Per tales artes et ritus impios et invocationes demonum, nullus unquam sequatur effectus ministerio demonum, error."*

"It is an error to believe, that these magic arts and invocations of the devils are without effect."

This decision has never been revoked. Thus we are bound to believe in succubi and incubi, because our teachers have always believed in them.

There have been many other sages in this science, as well as the Sorbonne. Bodin, in his book concerning sorcerers, dedicated to Christopher de Thou, first president of the parliament of Paris, relates that John Hervilier, a native of Verberie, was condemned by that parliament to be burned alive for having prostituted his daughter to the devil, a great black man, whose caresses were attended with a sensation of cold which appears to be very uncongenial to his nature; but our jurisprudence has always admitted the fact, and the prodigious number of sorcerers which it has burnt in consequence will always remain a proof of its accuracy.

The celebrated Picus of Mirandola (a prince never lies)† says, he knew an old man of the age of eighty years who had slept half his life with a female devil, and another of seventy who enjoyed a similar felicity. Both were buried at Rome, but nothing is said of the fate of their children.

Thus is the existence of incubi and succubi demonstrated.

It is impossible, at least, to prove to the contrary; for if we are called upon to believe that devils can enter our bodies, who can prevent them from taking kindred liberties with our wives and our daughters. And if there be demons, there are probably demonesses; for to be consistent, if the demons beget children on our females, it must follow that we effect the same thing on the demonesses.

* In libro de premotione.

† Quarto edition, p. 104.

Never has there been a more universal empire than that of the devil. What has dethroned him?—Reason.

INFINITY.

Who will give me a clear idea of infinity? I have never had an idea of it which was not excessively confused—possibly because I am a finite being.

What is that which is eternally going on without advancing—always reckoning without a sum total—dividing eternally without arriving at an indivisible particle?

It might seem as if the notion of infinity formed the bottom of the bucket of the Danaïdes.

Nevertheless, it is impossible that infinity should not exist. An infinite duration is demonstrable.

The commencement of existence is absurd; for nothing cannot originate something. When an atom exists, we must necessarily conclude that it has existed from all eternity; and hence an infinite duration rigorously demonstrated. But what is an infinite past?—an infinitude which I arrest in imagination whenever I please. Behold! I exclaim, an infinity passed away; let us proceed to another. I distinguish between two eternities, the one before, the other behind me.*

When however I reflect upon my words, I perceive that I have absurdly pronounced the words—"one eternity has passed away, and I am entering into another."

For at the moment that I thus talk, eternity endures, and the tide of time flows. Duration is not separable; and as something has ever been, something must ever be.

The infinite in duration then is linked to an uninterrupted chain. This infinite perpetuates itself, even at the instant that I say it is passed. Time begins and ends with me, but duration is infinite.

The infinite is here quickly formed without, how-

* Thus Cowley:—

"Oh, life! thou weak-built isthmus which dost proudly rise
"Up betwixt two eternities!" T.

ever, our possession of the ability to form a clear notion of it.

We are told of infinite space—what is space? Is it a being, or nothing at all?

If it is a being, what is its nature? You cannot tell me. If it is nothing, nothing can have ~~no~~ quality; yet you tell me that it is penetrable and immense. I am so embarrassed, I cannot correctly call it either something or nothing.

In the meantime, I know not of anything which possesses more properties than a void. For if passing the confines of this globe we are able to walk amidst this void, and thatch and build there when we possess materials for the purpose, this void or nothing is not opposed to whatever we might chuse to do; for having no property it cannot hinder any; moreover, since it cannot hinder, neither can it serve us.

It is pretended that God created the world amidst nothing and from nothing. That is abstruse; it is preferable to think that there is an infinite space; but we are curious—and if there be infinite space, our faculties cannot fathom the nature of it. We call it immense, because we cannot measure it; but what then? We have only pronounced words.

Of the Infinite in Number.

We have adroitly defined the infinite in arithmetic by a love-knot, in this manner ∞ ; but we possess not therefore a clearer notion of it. This infinity is not like the others, a powerlessness of reaching a termination. We call the infinite in quantity any number soever, which surpasses the utmost number we are able to imagine.

When we seek the infinitely small, we divide, and call that infinitely small which is less than the least assignable quantity. It is only another name for incapacity.

Is Matter infinitely divisible?

This question brings us back again precisely to our inability of finding the remotest number. In thought

we are able to divide a grain of sand, but in imagination only; and the incapacity of eternally dividing this grain is called infinity.

It is true, that matter is not always practically divisible, and if the last atom could be divided into two, it would no longer be the least; or if the least it would not be divisible; or if divisible, what is the germ or origin of things? These are abstruse queries.

Of the Universe.

Is the universe bounded—is its extent immense—are the suns and planets without number? What advantage has the space which contains suns and planets, over the space which is void of them. Whether space be an existence or not, why is the space which we occupy, preferable to other space?

If our material heaven be not infinite, it is but a point in general extent. If it is infinite, it be an infinity to which something can always be added by the imagination.

Of the Infinite in Geometry.

We admit, in geometry, not only infinite magnitudes, that is to say, magnitudes greater than any assignable magnitude, but infinite magnitudes infinitely greater, the one than the other. This astonishes our dimension of brains, which is only about six inches long, five broad, and six in depth, in the largest heads. It means, however, nothing more than that a square larger than any assignable square, surpasses a line larger than any assignable line, and bears no proportion to it.

It is a mode of operating, a mode of working geometrically, and the word infinite is a mere symbol.

Of Infinite Power, Wisdom, Goodness, &c.

In the same manner, as we cannot form any positive idea of the infinite in duration, number, and extension, are we unable to form one in respect to physical and moral power.

We can easily conceive, that a powerful being has modified matter, caused worlds to circulate in space,

and formed animals, vegetables, and metals. We are led to this idea by the perception of the want of power on the part of these beings to form themselves. We are also forced to allow, that the Great Being exists eternally by his own power, since he cannot have sprung from nothing; but we discover not so easily his infinity in magnitude, power, and moral attributes.

How are we to conceive infinite extent in a being called simple? and if he be uncompounded, what notions can we form of a simple being? We know God by his works, but we cannot understand him by his nature.

If it is evident that we cannot understand his nature, is it not equally so, that we must remain ignorant of his attributes?

When we say that his power is infinite, do we mean anything more than that it is very great? Aware of the existence of pyramids of the height of 600 feet, we can conceive them of the altitude of 600,000 feet.

Nothing can limit the power of the Eternal Being existing necessarily of himself. Agreed: no antagonists circumscribe him; but how convince me that he is not circumscribed by his own nature?

Has all that has been said on this great subject been demonstrated?

We speak of his moral attributes, but we only judge of them by our own; and it is impossible to do otherwise. We attribute to him justice, goodness, &c. only from the ideas we collect from the small degree of justice and goodness existing among ourselves.

But, in fact, what connection is there between our qualities so uncertain and variable, and those of the Supreme Being?

Our idea of justice is only that of not allowing our own interest to usurp over the interest of another. The bread which a wife has kneaded out of the flour produced from the wheat which her husband has sown, belongs to her. A hungry savage snatches away her bread, and the woman exclaims against such enormous injustice. The savage quietly answers, that nothing is

more just, and that it was not for him and his family to expire of famine for the sake of an old woman.

At all events, the infinite justice we attribute to God can but little resemble the contradictory notions of justice of this woman and this savage; and yet, when we say that God is just, we only pronounce these words agreeably to our own ideas of justice.

We know of nothing belonging to virtue more agreeable than frankness and cordiality, but to attribute infinite frankness and cordiality to God would amount to an absurdity.

We have such confused notions of the attributes of the Supreme Being, that some schools endow him with prescience, an infinite foresight which excludes all contingent event, while other schools contend for prescience without contingency.

Lastly, since the Sorbonne has declared that God can make a stick divested of two ends, and that the same thing can at once be and not be, we know not what to say, being in eternal fear of advancing a heresy.

One thing *may* however be asserted without danger,—that God is infinite, and man exceedingly bounded.

The mind of man is so extremely narrow, that Pascal has said: “Do you believe it impossible for God to be infinite and without parts? I wish to convince you of an existence infinite and indivisible,—it is a mathematical point—moving everywhere with infinite swiftness, for it is in all places, and entire in every place.”

Nothing more absurd was ever asserted, and yet it has been said by the author of the Provincial Letters. It is sufficient to give men of sense the ague.

INFLUENCE.

EVERY thing around exercises some influence upon us, either physically or morally. With this truth we are well acquainted.

Influence may be exerted upon a being without touching, without moving that being.

In short, matter has been demonstrated to possess the astonishing power of gravitating without contact, of acting at immense distances.

One idea influences another ; a fact not less incomprehensible.

I have not with me at Mount Krapac the book intitled " On the Influence of the Sun and Moon," composed by the celebrated physician Mead ; but I well know, that those two bodies are the cause of the tides ; and it is not in consequence of touching the waters of the ocean that they produce that flux and reflux : it is demonstrated that they produce them by the laws of gravitation.

But when we are in a fever, have the sun and moon any influence upon the accesses of it, in its days of crisis ? Is your wife constitutionally disordered only during the first quarter of the moon ? Will the trees, cut at the time of full moon, rot sooner than if cut down in its wane ? Not that I know. But timber cut down while the sap is circulating in it, undergoes putrefaction sooner than other timber ; and if by chance it is cut down at the full moon, men will certainly say it was the full moon that caused all the evil.

Your wife may have been disordered during the moon's growing ; but your neighbour's was so in its decline.

The fitful periods of the fever which you brought upon yourself by indulging too much in the pleasures of the table, occur about the first quarter of the moon ; your neighbour experiences his in its decline.

Everything that can possibly influence animals and vegetables must of course necessarily exercise that influence while the moon is making her circuit.

Were a woman of Lyons to remark that the periodical affections of her constitution had occurred in three or four successive instances on the day of the arrival of the diligence from Paris, would her medical attendant, however devoted he might be to system, think himself authorised in concluding that the Paris dili-

gence had some peculiar and marvellous influence on the lady's constitution?

There was a time when the inhabitants of every seaport were persuaded, that no one would die while the tide was rising, and that death always waited for its ebb.

Many physicians possessed a store of strong reasons to explain this constant phenomenon. The sea when rising communicates to human bodies the force or strength by which itself is raised. It brings with it vivifying particles which reanimate all patients. It is salt, and salt preserves from the putrefaction attendant on death. But when the sea sinks and retires, every thing sinks or retires with it; nature languishes; the patient is no longer vivified; he departs with the tide. The whole, it must be admitted, is most beautifully explained, but the presumed fact, unfortunately, is after all untrue.

The various elements, food, watching, sleep, and the passions, are constantly exerting on our frame their respective influences. While these influences are thus severally operating upon us, the planets traverse their appropriate orbits, and the stars shine with their usual brilliancy. But shall we really be so weak as to say that the progress and light of those heavenly bodies are the cause of our rheums and indigestion, and sleeplessness; of the ridiculous wrath we are in with some silly reasoner; or of the passion with which we are enamoured of some interesting woman?

But the gravitation of the sun and moon has made the earth in some degree flat at the pole, and raises the sea twice between the tropics in four-and-twenty hours. It may, therefore, regulate our fits of fever, and govern our whole machine. Before however we assert this to be the case, we should wait until we can prove it.*

* This single line contains everything reasonable that can be advanced upon the subject of these influences, and in general upon the subject of all the facts which appear out of the usual order of natural phenomena. If the existence of that order is certain

The sun acts upon us strongly by its rays, which touch us, and enter through our pores. Here is unquestionably a very decided and a very benignant influence. We ought not, I conceive, in physics, to admit of any action taking place without contact, until we have discovered some well recognised and ascertained power which acts at a distance, like that of gravitation, for example, or like that of your thoughts over mine, when you furnish me with ideas. Beyond these cases, I at present perceive no influences but from matter in contact with matter.

The fish of my pond and myself exist each of us in our natural element. The water which touches them from head to tail is continually acting upon them. The atmosphere which surrounds and closes upon me acts upon me. I ought not to attribute to the moon, which is ninety thousand miles distant, what I might naturally ascribe to something incessantly in contact with my skin. This would be more unphilosophical than my considering the court of China responsible for a law-suit that I was carrying on in France. We should never seek at a distance for what is absolutely within our immediate reach.

I perceive that the learned and ingenious M. Menuret is of a different opinion in the Encyclopedia, under the article "Influence." This certainly excites in my mind considerable diffidence with respect to what I have just advanced. The abbé de St. Pierre used to say, we could never maintain that we are absolutely in the right, but should rather say, "such is my opinion for the present."

Influence of the Passions of Mothers upon their Fœtus.

I think, for the present, that violent affections of pregnant women produce often a prodigious effect upon

to us, the reason is, that our experience of it has been uniform and invariable. Let us wait until we observe an equal uniformity and constancy with respect to the presumed influences in question; we shall then equally believe them, and with equal reason.—
Princip. Ed.

the embryo within them; and I think that I shall always think so: my reason is that I have actually seen this effect. If I had no voucher of my opinion but the testimony of historians who relate the instance of Mary Stuart and her son James I., I should suspend my judgment; because between that event and myself, a series of two hundred years has intervened, a circumstance naturally tending to weaken belief; and because I can ascribe the impression made upon the brain of James to other causes than the imagination of Mary. The royal assassins, headed by her husband, rush with drawn swords into the cabinet where she is supping in company with her favourite, and kill him before her eyes; the sudden convulsion experienced by her in the interior of her frame extends to her offspring; and James I. although not deficient in courage, felt during his whole life an involuntary shuddering at the sight of a sword drawn from its scabbard. It is however possible that this striking and peculiar agitation might be owing to a different cause.

There was once introduced, in my presence, into the court of a woman with child, a show-man who exhibited a little dancing dog with a kind of red bonnet on its head: the woman called out to have the figure removed; she declared that her child would be marked like it; she wept; and nothing could restore her confidence and peace. "This is the second time," she said, "that such a misfortune has befallen me. My first child bears the impression of a similar terror that I was exposed to; I feel extremely weak. I know that some misfortune will reach me." She was but too correct in her prediction. She was delivered of a child similar to the figure which had so terrified her. The bonnet was particularly distinguishable. The little creature lived two days.

In the time of Malebranche no one entertained the slightest doubt of the adventure which he relates, of the woman who, after seeing a criminal racked, was delivered of a son, all whose limbs were broken in the same places in which the malefactor had received the

blows of the executioner. All the physicians at the time were agreed, that the imagination had produced this fatal effect upon her offspring.

Since that period, mankind are believed to have refined and improved; and the influence under consideration has been denied. It has been asked, in what way do you suppose that the affections of a mother should operate to derange the members of the fœtus? Of that I know nothing; but I have witnessed the fact. You new-fangled philosophers enquire and study in vain how an infant is *formed*, and yet require me to know how it becomes *deformed*.*

INITIATION.

Ancient Mysteries.

THE origin of the ancient mysteries may, with the greatest probability, be ascribed to the same weakness which forms associations of brotherhood among ourselves, and which established congregations under the direction of the jesuits. It was probably this want of society which raised so many secret assemblies of artizans, of which scarcely any now remain besides that of the free-masons. Even down to the very beggars themselves, all had their societies, their confraternities, their mysteries, and their particular jargon, of which I have met with a small dictionary, printed in the sixteenth century.

This natural inclination in men to associate, to secure themselves, to become distinguished above others, and to acquire confidence in themselves, may be considered as the generating cause of all those particular bonds or unions, of all those mysterious initiations which afterwards excited so much attention and produced such

* We must in this case apply the rule which M. Voltaire laid down in the preceding article. But he falls here into an error common to minds of a superior order, that of being more impressed by a positive fact which he had seen, or which he believed he had seen, than by a thousand negative evidences.—*French Ed.*

striking effects, and which at length sunk into that oblivion in which everything is involved by time.

Begging pardon, while I say it, of the gods Cabiri, of the hierophants of Samothrace, of Isis, Orpheus, and the Eleusinian Ceres, I must nevertheless acknowledge my suspicions that their sacred secrets were not in reality more deserving of curiosity than the interior of the convents of carmelites or capuchins.

These mysteries being sacred, the participators in them soon became so. And while the number of these was small, it was respected; but at length, having grown too numerous, they retained no more consequence and consideration than we perceive to attach to German barons, since the world became full of barons.

Initiation was paid for, as every candidate pays his admission fees or welcome, but no member was allowed to talk for his money. In all ages it was considered a great crime to reveal the secrets of these religious farces. This secret was undoubtedly not worth knowing, as the assembly was not a society of philosophers but of ignorant persons, directed by a hierophant. An oath of secrecy was administered, and an oath was always regarded as a sacred bond. Even at the present day, our comparatively pitiful society of free-masons swear never to speak of their mysteries. These mysteries are stale and flat enough; but men scarcely ever perjure themselves.

Diagoras was proscribed by the Athenians for having made the secret hymn of Orpheus a subject for conversation.* Aristotle informs us, that Eschylus was in danger of being torn to pieces by the people, or at least of being severely beaten by them, for having in one of his dramas given some idea of those Orphean mysteries in which nearly every body was then initiated.

It appears that Alexander did not pay the highest respect possible to these reverend fooleries; they are indeed very apt to be despised by heroes. He revealed

* Suidas, Athenagoras, Eleus, Meursius.

the secret to his mother Olympias, but he advised her to say nothing about it—so much are even heroes themselves bound in the chains of superstition.

“It is customary,” says Herodotus, “in the city of Rusiris, to strike both men and women after the sacrifice, but I am not permitted to say where they are struck.” He leaves it however to be very easily inferred.

I think I see a description of the mysteries of the Eleusinian Ceres, in Claudian’s poem on the Rape of Proserpine, much clearer than I can see any in the sixth book of the *Æneid*. Virgil lived under a prince who joined to all his other bad qualities that of wishing to pass for a religious character; who was probably initiated in these mysteries himself, the better to impose thereby upon the people; and who would not have tolerated what would have been pretended to have been such decided profanation. You see his favourite Horace regards such a revelation as sacrilege:—

. Vetabo qui Cereris sacrum
Vulgarit arcanae sub iisdem
Sit trabibus, vel fragilem que mecum
Solvat phaselum.

HORACE, book iii. ode 2.

To silence due rewards we give;
And they who mysteries reveal
Beneath my roof shall never live,
Shall never hoist with me the doubtful sail.

FRANCIS.

Besides, the Cumean sibyl and the descent into hell, imitated from Homer much less than it is embellished by Virgil, with the beautiful prediction of the destinies of the Cæsars and the Roman empire, have no relation to the fables of Ceres, Proserpine, and Triptolemus. Accordingly, it is highly probable that the sixth book of the *Æneid* is not a description of those mysteries. If I ever said the contrary, I here unsay it; but I conceive that Claudian revealed them fully. He flourished at a time when it was permitted to divulge the mysteries of Eleusis, and indeed all the mysteries in the world. He lived under Honorius, in the total decline of the ancient Greek and

Roman religion, to which Theodosius I. had already given the mortal blow.

Horace, at that period, would not have been at all afraid of living under the same roof with a revealer of mysteries. Claudian, as a poet, was of the ancient religion, which was more adapted to poetry than the new. He describes the droll absurdities of the mysteries of Ceres, such as they were still performed with all becoming reverence in Greece, down to the time of Theodosius II. They formed a species of operative pantomime, of the same description as we have seen many very amusing ones, in which were represented all the devilish tricks and conjurations of doctor Faustus, the birth of the world and of Harlequin, who both came from a large egg by the heat of the sun's rays. Just in the same manner, the whole history of Ceres and Proserpine was represented by the mystagogues. The spectacle was fine; the cost must have been great; and it is no matter of astonishment that the initiated should pay the performers.. All live by their respective occupations.

Every mystery had its peculiar ceremonies; but all admitted of wakes or vigils of which the youthful votaries fully availed themselves; and it was this abuse in part which finally brought discredit upon those nocturnal ceremonies instituted for sanctification. The ceremonies thus perverted to assignation and licentiousness were abolished in Greece in the time of the Peloponnesian war; they were abolished at Rome in the time of Cicero's youth, eighteen years before his consulship. From the "Aulularia" of Plautus, we are led to consider them as exhibiting scenes of gross debauchery, and as highly injurious to public morals.

Our religion, which, while it adopted, greatly purified various pagan institutions, sanctified the name of the initiated, nocturnal feasts, and vigils, which were a long time in use, but which at length it became necessary to prohibit when an administration of police was introduced into the government of the church, so long entrusted to the piety and zeal that precluded the necessity of police.

The principal formula of all the mysteries, in every place of their celebration, was, "Come out, ye who are profane;" that is, uninitiated. Accordingly, in the first centuries, the christians adopted a similar formula. The deacon said, "Come out, all ye catechumens, all ye who are possessed and who are uninitiated."

It is in speaking of the baptism of the dead that St. Chrysostom says, "I should be glad to explain myself clearly, but I can do so only to the initiated. We are in great embarrassment. We must either speak unintelligibly, or disclose secrets which we are bound to conceal."

It is impossible to describe more clearly the obligation of secrecy and the privilege of initiation. All is now so completely changed, that were you at present to talk about initiation to the greater part of your priests and parish officers, there would not be one of them that would understand you, unless by great chance he had read the chapter of Chrysostom above noticed.

You will see in Minutius Felix the abominable imputations with which the pagans attacked the christian mysteries. The initiated were reproached with treating each other as brethren and sisters, solely with a view to profane that sacred name.* They kissed, it was said, particular parts of the persons of the priests, as is still practised in respect to the santons of Africa; they stained themselves with all those pollutions which have since disgraced and stigmatized the templars. Both were accused of worshipping a kind of ass's head.

We have seen that the early christian societies ascribed to each other, reciprocally, the most inconceivable infamies. The pretext for these calumnies was the inviolable secret which every society made of its mysteries. It is upon this ground that in Minutius Felix, Cecilius, the accuser of the christians, exclaims:—

"Why do they so carefully endeavour to conceal what they worship, since what is decent and honourable always courts the light, and crimes alone seek secrecy?"

"Cur occultare et abscondere quidquid colunt

* Minutius Felix, 22.

magnopere nituntur? Quum honesta semper publico gaudeant, scelera secreta sint."

It cannot be doubted that these accusations, universally spread, drew upon the christians more than one persecution. Whenever a society of men, whatever they may be, are accused by the public voice, the falsehood of the charge is urged in vain, and it is deemed meritorious to persecute them.

How could it easily be otherwise, than that the first christians should be even held in horror, when St. Epiphanius himself urges against them the most execrable imputations? He asserts that the christian phibionites committed indecencies, which he specifies, of the grossest character; and, after passing through various scenes of pollution, exclaimed each of them,—
"I am the Christ."*

According to the same writer, the gnostics and the stratotists equalled the phibionites in exhibitions of licentiousness, and all three sects mingled horrid pollutions with their mysteries, men and women displaying equal dissoluteness.†

The carpocratians, according to the same father of the church, even exceeded the horrors and abominations of the three sects just mentioned.‡

The cerinthians did not abandon themselves to abominations such as these: but they were persuaded that Jesus Christ was the son of Joseph.§

The ebionites, in their gospel, maintained that St. Paul, being desirous of marrying the daughter of Gamaliel, and not able to obtain her, became a christian, and established christianity out of revenge.¶

All these accusations did not for some time reach the ear of the government. The Romans paid but little attention to the quarrels and mutual reproaches which occurred between these little societies of Jews, Greeks, and Egyptians, who were, as it were, hidden in the vast and general population; just as at London, in the present day, the parliament does not embarrass or concern itself with the peculiar forms or transactions

* Epiphanius, xl. † Epiphanius, xlvi. ¶ Epiphanius, lxii.
 † Idem, xxxviii. § Idem, xlix.

of memnonites, pietists, anabaptists, millinarians, moravians, or methodists. It is occupied with matters of urgency and importance, and pays no attention to their mutual charges and recriminations till they become of importance from their publicity.

The charges above mentioned, at length, however, came to the ears of the senate; either from the Jews, who were implacable enemies of the christians, or from christians themselves; and hence it resulted, that the crimes charged against some christian societies were imputed to all; hence it resulted, that their initiations were so long calumniated; hence resulted the persecutions which they endured. These persecutions, however, obliged them to greater circumspection; they strengthened themselves, they combined, they disclosed their books only to the initiated. No Roman magistrate, no emperor, ever had the slightest knowledge of them, as we have already shewn. Providence increased, during the course of three centuries, both their number and their riches, until at length, Constantius Chlorus openly protected them, and Constantine his son embraced their religion.

In the mean time, the names of initiated and mysteries still subsisted, and they were concealed from the gentiles as much as was possible. As to the mysteries of the gentiles, they continued down to the time of Theodosius.

INNOCENTS.

Of the Massacre of the Innocents.

WHEN people speak of the massacre of the innocents, they do not refer to the Sicilian Vespers, nor to the matins of Paris, known under the name of St. Bartholomew; nor to the inhabitants of the new world, who were murdered because they were not christians, nor to the auto-da-fés of Spain and Portugal, &c. &c. they usually refer to the young children who were killed within the precincts of Bethlehem, by order of Herod the great, and who were afterwards carried to Cologne, where they are still to be found.

Their number was maintained by the whole Greek church to be fourteen thousand.

The difficulties raised by critics upon this point of history have been all solved by shrewd and learned commentators.

Objections have been started in relation to the star which conducted the magi from the recesses of the east to Jerusalem. It has been said, that the journey being a long one, the star must have appeared for a long time above the horizon; and yet that no historian besides St. Matthew ever took notice of this extraordinary star; that if it had shone so long in the heavens, Herod and his whole court, and all Jerusalem, must have seen it as well as these three magi, or kings; that Herod consequently could not, without absurdity, have enquired diligently, as Matthew expresses it, of these kings, at what time they had seen the star; that, if these three kings had made presents of gold and myrrh and incense to the new-born infant, his parents must have been very rich: that Herod could certainly never believe that this infant, born in a stable at Bethlehem, would be king of the Jews, as the kingdom of Judea belonged to the Romans, and was a gift from Cæsar; that if three kings of the Indies were, at the present day, to come to France under the guidance of a star, and stop at the house of a woman of Vaugirard, no one could ever make the reigning monarch believe that the child of that poor woman would become king of France.

A satisfactory answer has been given to these difficulties, which may be considered preliminary ones, attending the subject of the massacre of the innocents; and it has been shown, that what is impossible with man, is not impossible with God.

With respect to the slaughter of the little children, whether the number was fourteen thousand, or greater, or less, it has been shown, that this horrible and unprecedented cruelty was not absolutely incompatible with the character of Herod; that, after being established as king of Judea by Augustus, he could not indeed fear anything from the child of obscure and poor parents, residing in a petty village; but that

labouring at that time under the disorder of which he at length died, his blood might have become so corrupt, that he might in consequence have lost both reason and humanity; that, in short, all these incomprehensible events, which prepared the way for mysteries still more incomprehensible, were directed by an inscrutable providence.

It is objected, that the historian Josephus, who was nearly contemporary, and who has related all the cruelties of Herod, has made no more mention of the massacre of the young children than of the star of the three kings; that neither the Jew Philo, nor any other Jew, nor any Roman, takes any notice of it; and even that three of the evangelists have observed a profound silence upon these important subjects. It is replied, that they are nevertheless announced by St. Matthew, and that the testimony of one inspired man is of more weight than the silence of all the world.

The critics however have not surrendered; they have dared to censure St. Matthew himself, for saying that these children were massacred, "that the words of Jeremiah might be fulfilled. A voice is heard in Ramah, a voice of groaning and lamentation, Rachel weeping for her children, and refusing to be comforted, because they are no more."

These historical words, they observe, were literally fulfilled in the tribe of Benjamin, which descended from Rachel, when Nabuzaradan destroyed a part of that tribe near the city of Ramah. It was no longer a prediction, they say, any more than were the words, "He shall be called a Nazarene. And he came to dwell in a city called Nazareth, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, He shall be called a Nazarene." They triumph in the circumstance, that these words are not to be found in any one of the prophets; just as they do in the idea that Rachel weeping for the Benjamites at Ramah has no reference whatever to the massacre of the innocents by Herod.

They dare even to urge, that these two allusions being clearly false, are a manifest proof of the false-

hood of this narrative; and conclude, that the massacre of the children, and the new star, and the journey of the three kings, never had the slightest foundation in fact.

They even go much farther yet; they think they find as palpable a contradiction between the narrative of St. Matthew and that of St. Luke, as between the two genealogies adduced by them.* St. Matthew says that Joseph and Mary carried Jesus into Egypt, fearing that he would be involved in the massacre. St. Luke, on the contrary, says, "That after having fulfilled all the ceremonies of the law, Joseph and Mary returned to Nazareth their city, and went every year to Jerusalem, to keep the Passover."

But thirty days must have expired before a woman could have completed her purification from childbirth and fulfilled all the ceremonies of the law. During these thirty days, therefore, the child must have been exposed to destruction by the general proscription. And if his parents went to Jerusalem to accomplish the ordinances of the law, they certainly did not go to Egypt.

These are the principal objections of unbelievers. They are effectually refuted by the faith both of the Greek and Latin churches. If it were necessary always to be clearing up the doubts of persons who read the scriptures, we must inevitably pass our whole lives in disputing about all the articles contained in them. Let us rather refer ourselves to our worthy superiors and masters; to the university of Salamanca when in Spain, to the Sorbonne in France, and to the holy congregation at Rome. Let us submit both in heart and in understanding to that which is required of us for our good.

INQUISITION.

SECTION I.

THE inquisition is an ecclesiastical jurisdiction, established by the see of Rome in Italy, Spain, Portugal,

* See the article CONTRADICTIONS.

and even in the Indies, for the purpose of searching out and extirpating infidels, Jews, and heretics.

That we may not be suspected of resorting to falsehood, in order to render this tribunal odious, we shall in this present article give the abstract of a Latin work on the "Origin and Progress of the Office of the Holy Inquisition," printed by the royal press at Madrid in 1589, by order of Louis de Paramo, Inquisitor in the kingdom of Sicily.

Without going back to the origin of the inquisition, which Paramo thinks he discovers in the manner in which God is related to have proceeded against Adam and Eve, let us abide by the new law, of which Jesus Christ, according to him, was the chief inquisitor. He exercised the functions of that office on the thirteenth day after his birth, by announcing to the city of Jerusalem, through the three kings or magi, his appearance in the world, and afterwards by causing Herod to be devoured alive by worms; by driving the buyers and sellers out of the temple; and finally, by delivering Judea into the hands of tyrants, who pillaged it in punishment of its unbelief.

After Jesus Christ, St. Peter, St. Paul, and the rest of the apostles, exercised the office of inquisitor, which they transmitted to the popes and bishops, their successors. St. Dominic having arrived in France with the bishop of Osma, of which he was archdeacon, became animated with zeal against the Albigenses, and obtained the regard and favour of Simon, count de Montfort. Having been appointed by the pope inquisitor in Languedoc, he there founded his order, which was approved of and ratified in 1216, by Honorius III. Under the auspices of St. Madelaine, count Montfort took the city of Beziers by assault, and put all the inhabitants to the sword; and at Laval, four hundred Albigenses were burnt at once. "In all the histories of the inquisition that I ever read," says Paramo, "I never met with an act of faith so eminent, or a spectacle so solemn. At the village of Cazera, sixty were burnt; and in another place a hundred and eighty."

The inquisition was adopted by the count of Thou-

louse in 1229, and confided to the dominicans by pope Gregory IX. in 1233; Innocent IV. in 1251, established it in the whole of Italy, with the exception of Naples. At the commencement, indeed, heretics were not subjected in the Milanese to the punishment of death, which they nevertheless so richly deserve, because the popes were not sufficiently respected by the emperor Frederick, to whom that state belonged; but a short time afterwards, heretics were burnt at Milan, as well as in the other parts of Italy; and our author remarks, that in 1315 some thousands of heretics having spread themselves through Cremasco, a small territory included in the jurisdiction of the Milanese, the dominican brothers burnt the greater part of them, and thus checked the ravages of the theological pestilence by the flames.

As the first canon of the council of Thoulouse enjoined the bishops to appoint in every parish a priest and two or three laymen of reputation, who should be bound by oath to search carefully and frequently for heretics, in houses, caves, and all places wherever they might be able to hide themselves, and to give the speediest information to the bishop, the seigneur of the place, or his bailiff, after having taken all necessary precautions against the escape of any heretics discovered, the inquisitors must have acted at this time in concert with the bishops. The prisons of the bishop and of the inquisition were frequently the same; and, although in the course of the procedure the inquisitor might act in his own name, he could not, without the intervention of the bishop, apply the torture, pronounce any definitive sentence, or condemn to perpetual imprisonment, &c. The frequent disputes that occurred between the bishops and the inquisitors, on the limits of their authority, on the spoils of the condemned, &c. compelled pope Sixtus IV. in 1473, to make the inquisitions independent and separate from the tribunals of the bishops. He created for Spain an inquisitor-general, with full powers to nominate particular inquisitors; and Ferdinand V. in 1478, founded and endowed the inquisition.

At the solicitation of Turrecremata (or Torquemada) a brother of the dominican order, and grand-inquisitor of Spain, the same Ferdinand, who was surnamed the catholic, banished from his kingdom all the Jews, allowing them three months from the publication of his edict, after the expiration of which period they were not to be found in any of the Spanish dominions under pain of death. They were permitted, on quitting the kingdom, to take with them the goods and merchandize which they had purchased, but forbidden to take out of it any description of gold or silver.

The brother Turrecremata followed up and strengthened this edict, in the diocese of Toledo, by prohibiting all christians, under pain of excommunication, from giving anything whatever to the Jews, even that which might be necessary to preserve life itself.

In consequence of these decrees, about a million Jews departed from Catalonia, the kingdom of Arragon, that of Valencia, and other countries subject to the dominion of Ferdinand; the greater part of whom perished miserably: so that they compare the calamities that they suffered during this period to those they experienced under Titus and Vespasian. This expulsion of the Jews gave incredible joy to all catholic sovereigns.

Some divines have blamed these edicts of the king of Spain; their principal reasons are, that unbelievers ought not to be constrained to embrace the faith of Jesus Christ, and that these violences are a disgrace to our religion.

But these arguments are very weak; and I contend, says Paramo, that the edict is pious, just, and praiseworthy, as the violence with which the Jews are required to be converted is not an absolute but a conditional violence, since they might avoid it by quitting their country. Besides, they might corrupt those of the Jews who were newly converted, and even christians themselves; but, as St. Paul* says, what com-

* Corinthians vi. 14, 15.

munion is there between justice and iniquity, light and darkness, Jesus Christ and Belial?

With respect to the confiscation of their goods, nothing could be more equitable; as they had acquired them only by usury towards Christians, who only received back, therefore, what was in fact their own.

In short, by the death of our Lord, the Jews became slaves, and everything that a slave possesses belongs to his master. We could not but suspend our narrative for a moment, to make these remarks, in opposition to persons who have thus calumniated the piety, the spotless justice, and the sanctity of the catholic king.

At Seville, where an example of severity to the Jews was ardently desired, it was the holy will of God, who knows how to draw good out of evil, that a young man who was in waiting in consequence of an assignation, should see through the chinks of a partition an assembly of Jews, and in consequence inform against them. A great number of the unhappy wretches were apprehended, and punished as they deserved. By virtue of different edicts of the kings of Spain, and of the inquisitors, general and particular, established in that kingdom, there were, in a very short time, about two thousand heretics burnt at Seville, and more than four thousand from 1482 to 1520. A vast number of others were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, or exposed to inflictions of different descriptions. The emigration from it was so great, that five hundred houses were supposed to be left in consequence quite empty, and in the whole diocese, three thousand, and altogether more than a hundred thousand heretics were put to death, or punished in some other manner, or went into banishment, to avoid severer suffering. Such was the destruction of heretics accomplished by these pious brethren.

The establishment of the inquisition at Toledo was a fruitful source of revenue to the catholic church. In the short space of two years, it actually burnt at the stake fifty-two obstinate heretics, and two hundred

and twenty more were outlawed: whence we may easily conjecture of what utility the inquisition has been from its original establishment, since in so short a period it performed such wonders.

From the beginning of the fifteenth century, pope Boniface IX. attempted in vain to establish the inquisition in Portugal, where he created the provincial of the dominicans, Vincent de Lisbon, inquisitor-general. Innocent VII. some years after, having named as inquisitor the Minim Didacus de Sylva, king John I. wrote to that pope, that the establishment of the inquisition in his kingdom was contrary to the good of his subjects, to his own interests, and perhaps also to the interests of religion.

The pope, affected by the representations of a too mild and easy monarch, revoked all the powers granted to the inquisitors newly established, and authorised Mark, bishop of Senigaglia, to absolve the persons accused; which he accordingly did. Those who had been deprived of their dignities and offices were re-established in them, and many were delivered from the fear of the confiscation of their property.

But how admirable, continues Paramo, is the Lord in all his ways! That which the sovereign pontiffs had been unable effectually to obtain with all their urgency, king John granted spontaneously to a dextrous impostor, whom God made use of as an instrument for accomplishing the good work. In fact, the wicked are frequently useful instruments in God's hands, and he does not reject the good they bring about. Thus, when John * remarks to our Lord Jesus Christ, "Lord, we saw one who was not thy disciple casting out demons in thy name, and we prevented him from doing so," Jesus answered him, "Prevent him not; for he who works miracles in my name will not speak ill of me; and he who is not against me is for me."

Paramo relates, afterwards, that he saw in the library of St. Laurence, at the Escorial, a manuscript in the hand-writing of Saavedra, in which that knave

* Mark ix. 37, 39.

details his fabrication of a false bull, and obtaining thereby his entrée into Seville as legate, with a train of a hundred and twenty domestics; his defrauding of thirteen thousand ducats the heirs of a rich nobleman in that neighbourhood, during his twenty days residence in the palace of the archbishop, by producing a counterfeit bond for the same sum, which the nobleman acknowledged, in that instrument, to have borrowed of the legate when he visited Rome; and finally, after his arrival at Badajos, the permission granted him by king John III. to whom he was presented by means of forged letters of the pope, to establish tribunals of the inquisition in the principal cities of the kingdom.

These tribunals began immediately to exercise their jurisdiction; and a vast number of condemnations and executions of relapsed heretics took place, as also of absolutions of recanting and penitent heretics. Six months had passed in this manner, when the truth was made apparent of that expression in the gospel,* "There is nothing hid which shall not be made known." The marquis de Villeneuve de Barcarotta, a Spanish nobleman, assisted by the governor of Mora, had the impostor apprehended and conducted to Madrid. He was there carried before John de Tavera, archbishop of Toledo. That prelate, perfectly astonished at all that now transpired of the knavery and address of the false legate, despatched all the depositions and documents relative to the case to pope Paul III.; as he did also the acts of the inquisitions which Saavedra had established, and by which it appeared that a great number of heretics had already been judged and condemned, and that the impostor had extorted from his victims more than three hundred thousand ducats.

The pope could not help acknowledging in all this the finger of God and a miracle of his providence; he accordingly formed the congregation of the tribunal of the inquisition, under the denomination of "The

* Matthew, x. 26. Mark, iv. 22. Luke, viii. 11.

Holy Office," in 1545, and Sixtus V. confirmed it in 1588.

All writers but one agree with Paramo on the subject of the establishment of the inquisition in Portugal. Antoine de Sousa alone, in his "Aphorisms of Inquisitors," calls the history of Saavedra in question, under the pretence that he may very easily be conceived to have accused himself without being in fact guilty, in consideration of the glory which would redound to him from the event, and in the hope of living in the memory of mankind. But Sousa, in the very narrative which he substitutes for that of Paramo, exposes himself to the suspicion of bad faith, in citing two bulls of Paul III. and two others from the same pope to cardinal Henry, the king's brother; bulls which Sousa has not introduced into his printed work, and which are not to be found in any collection of apostolical bulls extant; two decisive reasons for rejecting his opinion, and adhering to that of Paramo, Hiescas, Salasar, Mendocça, Fernandez, and Placentinus, &c.

When the Spaniards passed over to America, they carried the inquisition with them; the Portuguese introduced it in the Indies, immediately upon its being established at Lisbon, which led to the observation which Louis de Paramo makes in his preface, that this flourishing and verdant tree had extended its branches and its roots throughout the world, and produced the most pleasant fruits.

In order to form some correct idea of the jurisprudence of the inquisition, and the forms of its proceedings, unknown to civil tribunals, let us take a cursory view of the "Directory of Inquisitors," which Nicolas Eymeric, grand inquisitor of the kingdom of Arragon about the middle of the fourteenth century, composed in Latin, and addressed to his brother inquisitors, in virtue of the authority of his office.

A short time after the invention of printing, an edition of this work was printed at Barcelona, and soon conveyed to all the inquisitions in the christian world. A second edition appeared at Rome in 1578, in

folio, with scholia and commentaries by Francois Pegna, doctor in theology and canonist.

The following eulogium on the work is given by the editor in an epistle dedicatory to Gregory XIII. :—
 “ While christian princes are every where engaged in combating with arms the enemies of the catholic religion, and pouring out the blood of their soldiers, to support the unity of the church and the authority of the apostolic see, there are also zealous and devoted writers, who toil in obscurity, either to refute the opinions of innovators or to arm and direct the power of the laws against their persons, in order that the severity of punishments, and the solemnity and torture attending executions, keeping them within the bounds of duty, may produce that effect upon them which cannot be produced in them by the love of virtue.

“ Although I fill only the lowest place among these defenders of religion, I am nevertheless animated with the same zeal for repressing the impious audacity and horrible depravity of the broachers of innovation. The labour which I here present to you on the “ Directory of Inquisitions ” will be a proof of my assertion. This work of Nicolas Eymeric, respectable for its antiquity, contains a summary of the principal articles of faith, and an elaborate and methodical code of instruction for the tribunals of the holy inquisition, on the means which they ought to employ for the repression and extirpation of heretics; on which account I felt it my duty to offer it in homage to your holiness, as to the chief of the christian republic.”

He declares, elsewhere, that he had it reprinted for the instruction of inquisitors; that the work is as much to be admired as respected, and teaches with equal piety and learning the proper means of repressing and exterminating heretics. He acknowledges, however, that he is in possession of other useful and judicious methods, for which he refers to practice, which will instruct much more effectually than any lessons, and that he more readily thus silently refers to practice, as there are certain matters relating to the subject which it is of importance not to divulge, and which, at the same

time, are generally well known to inquisitors. He cites a vast number of writers, all of whom have followed the doctrines of the Directory; and he even complains that many have availed themselves of it without ascribing any honour to Eymeric for the good things they have in fact stolen from him.

We will secure ourselves from any reproach of this description, by pointing out exactly what we mean to borrow both from the author and the editor. Eymeric says, in the fifty-eighth page, "Commiseration for the children of the criminal, who by the severity used towards him are reduced to beggary, should never be permitted to mitigate that severity, since both by divine and human laws children are punished for the faults of their fathers."

Page 123. "If a charge entered for prosecution were destitute of every appearance of truth, the inquisitor should not on that account expunge it from his register, because what at one period has not been discovered, may be so at another."

Page 291. "It is necessary for the inquisitor to oppose cunning and stratagem to those employed by heretics, that he may thus pay the offenders in their own coin, and be enabled to adopt the language of the Apostle,* 'Being crafty, I caught you with guile.'"

Page 296. "The information and depositions (procès verbal) may be read over to the accused, completely suppressing the names of the accusers; and then it is for him to conjecture who the persons are that have brought against him any particular charges, to challenge them as incompetent witnesses, or to weaken their testimony by contrary evidence. This is the method generally used. The accused must not be permitted to imagine that challenges of witnesses will be easily allowed in cases of heresy, for it is of no consequence whether witnesses are respectable or infamous, accomplices in the prisoner's offence, excommunicated, heretical, or in any manner whatever guilty, or perjured, &c. This has been so ruled in favour of the faith."

* 2 Corinthians xii. 16.

Page 202. "The appeal which a prisoner makes from the inquisition does not preclude that tribunal from trial and sentence of him upon other heads of accusation."

Page 313. "Although the form of the order for applying the torture may suppose variation in the answers of the accused, and also in addition sufficient presumptive evidence against him for putting him to the question; both these circumstances are not necessary, and either will be sufficient for the purpose without the other."

Pegna informs us, in the hundred and eighteenth scholium on the third book, that inquisitors generally employ only five kinds of torture when putting to the question, although Marsilius mentions fifteen kinds, and adds, that he has imagined others still—such, for example, as precluding the possibility of sleep, in which he is approved by Grillandus and Locatus.

Eymeric continues, page 319—"Care should be taken never to state in the form of absolution, that the prisoner is innocent, but merely that there was not sufficient evidence against him; a precaution necessary to prevent the prisoner, absolved in one case, from pleading that absolution in defence against any future charge that may be brought against him."

Page 324. "Sometimes abjuration and canonical purgation are prescribed together. This is done, when, to a bad reputation of an individual in point of doctrine are joined inconsiderable presumptions, which, were they a little stronger, would tend to convict him of having really said or done something injurious to the faith. The prisoner who stands in these circumstances is compelled to abjure all heresy in general; and after that, if he falls into any heresy of any description whatever, however different from those which may have constituted the matter of the present charge or suspicion against him, he is punished as a relapsed person, and delivered over to the secular arm."

Page 331. "Relapsed persons, when the relapse is clearly proved, must be delivered up to secular justice, whatever protestation they may make as to their future conduct, and whatever contrition they may express.

The inquisitor will, in such circumstances, inform the secular authorities, that on such a particular day and hour, and in such a particular place, a heretic will be delivered up to them, and should provide, that notice be given to the public that they will be expected to be present at the ceremony, as the inquisitor will deliver a sermon on the occasion in defence of the true faith, and those who attend will obtain the usual indulgences."

These indulgences are accordingly detailed: after the form of sentence given against the penitent heretic, the inquisitor will grant forty days indulgence to all persons present; three years to those who contributed to the apprehension, abjuration, condemnation, &c. of the said heretic; and finally, three years also will be granted by our holy father, the pope, to all who will denounce any other heretic.

Page 332. "When the culprit has been delivered over to the secular authority, it shall pronounce its sentence, and the criminal shall be conveyed to the place of punishment; some pious persons shall accompany him, and associate him in their prayers, and even pray with him; and not leave him till he has rendered up his soul to his creator. But it is their duty to take particular care neither to say or to do anything which may hasten the moment of his death, for fear of falling into some irregularity. Accordingly, they should not exhort the criminal to mount the scaffold, or present himself to the executioner, or advise the executioner to get ready and arrange his instruments of punishment, so that the death may take place more quickly, and the prisoner be prevented from lingering; all for the sake of avoiding irregularity."

Page 335. "Should it happen that the heretic, when just about to be fixed to the stake to be burnt, were to give signs of conversion, he might perhaps, out of singular lenity and favour, be allowed to be received and shut up, like penitent heretics, within four walls, although it would be weak to place much reliance on a conversion of this nature, and the indulgence is not authorised by any express law; such lenity however

is very dangerous. I was witness of an example in point at Barcelona:—A priest who was condemned, with two other impenitent heretics, to be burnt, and who was actually in the midst of the flames, called on the bye-standers to pull him out instantly, for he was willing to be converted; he was accordingly extricated, dreadfully scorched on one side. I do not mean to decide whether this was well or ill done; but I know that, fourteen years afterwards, he was still dogmatising, and had corrupted a considerable number of persons; he was therefore once more given up to justice, and was burnt to death.”

“No person doubts,” says Pegna, scholium 47, “that heretics ought to be put to death; but the particular method of execution may well be a topic of discussion.” Alphonso de Castro, in the second book of his work, “On the just Punishment of Heretics,” considers it a matter of great indifference whether they are destroyed by the sword, by fire, or any other method; but Hostiensis Godofredus, Covarruvias, Simancas, Roxas, &c. maintain that they ought decidedly to be burnt. In fact, as Hostiensis very well expressed it, execution by fire is the punishment appropriate to heresy. We read in St. John,*—‘If any one remain not in me, he shall be cast forth, as a branch, and wither, and men shall gather it and cast it into the fire and burn it.’—“It may be added,” continues Pegna, “that the universal custom of the christian republic is in support of this opinion. Simancas and Roxas decide that heretics ought to be burnt alive; but one precaution should always be taken in burning them, which is tearing out their tongue and keeping the mouth perfectly closed, in order to prevent their scandalising the spectators by their impieties.”

Finally, page 369, Eymeric enjoins those whom he addresses to proceed in matters of heresy straight forward, without any wranglings of advocates, and without so many forms and solemnities as are generally employed in criminal cases; that is, to make the process

* John xv. 6.

as short as possible, by cutting off useless delays, by going on with the hearing and trial of such causes, even on days when the labours of the other judges are suspended; by disallowing every appeal which has for its apparent object merely a postponement of final judgment; and by not admitting an unnecessary multitude of witnesses, &c.*

* In order to show the practical in combination with the theoretical, we here supply a programme of an "auto-da-fa," in which the parts of the royal family of Spain, and of all the great functionaries, are formally arranged. It is given on the authority of the countess d'Aulnois, who accompanied her husband, an official diplomatist, to Madrid, towards the close of the reign of the imbecile animal whose early death opened a passage to the Spanish throne for the house of Bourbon:—

"In the great place at Madrid there shall be a theatre erected fifty feet long; it shall be raised up as high as the balcony designed for the king, and no higher.

"On the right side of the king's balcony, quite across the theatre, there shall be raised an amphitheatre of twenty-five or thirty steps, designed for the council of the inquisition and the other councils of Spain, on the uppermost of which shall be placed the chairs, under a canopy, for the general inquisitor, a great deal higher than the king's balcony. On the left of the theatre and the king's balcony there shall be another amphitheatre, as big as the first, upon which the criminals shall be placed.

"In the middle of the great theatre shall be raised another very little one, on which shall be made two cages, where the criminals shall be kept while their sentence is reading. There shall be likewise placed upon the great theatre three chairs for the readers of the judgment, and for the preacher, before whom there shall be an altar erected.

"The places for their catholic majesties shall be so ordered, that the queen shall be on the left hand of the king, and on the right of the queen-mother. All the queen's ladies of honour shall take up the rest of the length every way of the same balcony; there shall be other balconies prepared for the ambassadors and lords and ladies of the court, and scaffolds for the people.

"The ceremony shall begin by a procession from St. Mary's church. A hundred charcoal-men, armed with pikes and muskets, shall march before, because they provide the wood which is to burn those that are condemned to the fire. Next them shall follow the Dominicans, with a white cross carried before them. The duke de Medina Celi shall carry the standard of the inquisition, according to a privilege that is hereditary to his family; this standard is of red damask; on one side of it is represented a naked sword in a crown of laurel, and on the other the arms of Spain. After that there shall be carried a green cross, wrapped about with black crape; and after it shall march several grandees, and other

This revolting system of jurisprudence has simply been put under some restriction in Spain and Portugal; while at Milan the inquisition itself has at length been entirely suppressed.*

SECTION III.

The inquisition is well known to be an admirable and truly christian invention for increasing the power of the pope and monks, and rendering the population of a whole kingdom hypocrites.

persons of quality of the inquisition, covered with cloaks that have black and white crosses upon them, embroidered with gold thread. The march shall be brought up by fifty halberdiers or guards to the inquisition, clothed in black and white, and commanded by the marquis de Pouar, hereditary protector of the inquisition of the kingdom of Toledo. After the procession has in this manner passed by the palace, it shall come to the great place; the standard and the green cross shall be fixed upon the altar; and the Dominicans only shall remain upon the theatre, and spend part of the night in singing psalms, and as soon as day breaks they shall celebrate several masses upon the altar.

“The king, the queen, the queen-mother, and all the ladies, must be in their balconies about seven o'clock in the morning. At eight the procession shall begin to march, as it did the day before, by the company of charcoal-men, who shall place themselves on the left-hand of the king's balcony; the right shall be for his guards. Afterwards several men shall bear certain pasteboard effigies as big as life, some of them representing those that died in prison, whose bones shall also be carried in coffers with flames painted round them; and the rest shall represent those who have escaped, and who have been condemned for contumacy: these figures shall be placed at one end of the theatre. After that their sentence shall be read, and they shall be executed.”—T.

* It has just been suppressed also in Sicily and Tuscany: Genoa and Venice have the weakness still to keep it up; but it is not suffered to exhibit any activity. It still subsists, but it is deprived of power, in the states of the house of Savoy. The glory of abolishing this odious monument of the fanaticism and barbarism of our fathers, has never yet tempted any sovereign pontiff to effect it. The inquisition at Rome has been an object of scorn to Europe, and even to the Romans themselves, since its absurd prosecution of Galileo. The noblesse of Avignon permit the existence of this tribunal in a corner of France, and, satisfied with entertaining no apprehensions of danger from it, are insensible to the disgrace of wearing its monkish yoke. In Spain and Portugal the inquisition, conducted with less atrocity than formerly, is repossessed of all its power, and threatens with imprisonment and confiscation all who attempt conferring any improvement on those deluded and miserable countries.—*French Ed.*

St. Dominic is usually considered as the person to whom the world is principally indebted for this institution. In fact, we have still extant a patent granted by that great saint, expressed precisely in the following words:—"I, brother Dominic, reconcile to the church Roger, the bearer of these presents, on condition of his being scourged by a priest on three successive Sundays from the entrance of the city to the church doors; of his abstaining from meat all his life; of his fasting for the space of three Lents in a year; of his never drinking wine; of his carrying about him the 'san-benito' with crosses; of his reciting the breviary every day, and ten paternosters in the course of the day, and twenty at midnight; of his preserving perfect chastity, and of his presenting himself every month before the parish priest, &c.; the whole under pain of being treated as heretical, perjured, and impenitent."

Although Dominic was the real founder of the inquisition, yet Louis de Paramo, one of the most respectable writers and most brilliant luminaries of the holy office, relates, in the second chapter of his second book, that God was the first instituter of the holy office, and that he exercised the power of the preaching brethren, that is of the Dominican order, against Adam. In the first place Adam is cited before the tribunal: "Adam ubi es?"—Adam, where art thou? And in fact, adds Paramo, the want of this citation would have rendered the whole procedure of God null.

The dresses formed of skins, which God made for Adam and Eve, were the model of the 'san-benito,' which the holy office requires to be worn by heretics. It is true that, according to this argument, God was the first tailor; it is not however the less evident, on account of that ludicrous and profane inference, that he was the first inquisitor.

Adam was deprived of the immoveable property he possessed in the terrestrial paradise, and hence the holy office confiscates the property of all whom it condemns.

Louis de Paramo remarks, that the inhabitants of Sodom were burnt as heretics because their crime is a

formal heresy. He thence passes to the history of the Jews; and in every part of it discovers the holy office.

Jesus Christ is the first inquisitor of the new law; the popes were inquisitors by divine right; and they afterwards communicated their power to St. Dominic.

He afterwards estimates the number of all those whom the inquisition has put to death; he states it to be considerably above a hundred thousand.

His book was printed in 1589, at Madrid, with the approbation of doctors, the eulogiums of bishops, and the privilege of the king. We can, at the present day, scarcely form any idea of horrors at once so extravagant and abominable; but at that period nothing appeared more natural and edifying. All men resemble Louis de Paramo when they are fanatics.

Paramo was a plain direct man, very exact in dates, omitting no interesting fact, and calculating with precision the number of human victims immolated by the holy office throughout the world.

He relates, with great naïveté, the establishment of the inquisition in Portugal, and coincides perfectly with four other historians who have treated of that subject. The following account they unanimously agree in:—

Singular Establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal.

Pope Boniface had long before, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, delegated some Dominican friars to go to Portugal, from one city to another, to burn heretics, mussulmen, and Jews; but these were itinerant and not stationary; and even the kings sometimes complained of the vexations caused by them. Pope Clement VII. was desirous of giving them a fixed residence in Portugal, as they had in Arragon and Castile. Difficulties however arose between the court of Rome and that of Lisbon; tempers became irritated, the inquisition suffered by it, and was far from being perfectly established.

In 1539, there appeared at Lisbon a legate of the pope, who came, he said, to establish the holy inquisition on immoveable foundations. He delivered his letters

to king John III. from pope Paul III. He had other letters from Rome for the chief officers of the court; his patents as legate were duly sealed and signed; and he exhibited the most ample powers for creating a grand inquisitor and all the judges of the holy office. He was however in fact an impostor, of the name of Saavedra, who had the talent of counterfeiting hand-writings, seals, and coats of arms. He had acquired the art at Rome, and was perfected in it at Seville, at which place he arrived in company with two other sharpers. His train was magnificent, consisting of more than a hundred and twenty domestics. To defray, at least in part, the enormous expense with which all this splendour was attended, he and his associates borrowed at Seville large sums in the name of the apostolic chamber of Rome; everything was concerted with the most consummate art.

The king of Portugal was at first perfectly astonished at the pope's dispatching a legate to him without any previous announcement to him of his intention. The legate hastily observed, that in a concern so urgent as that of establishing the inquisition on a firm foundation, his holiness could admit of no delays, and that the king might consider himself honoured by the holy father's having appointed a legate to be the first person to announce his intention. The king did not venture to reply. The legate on that very day constituted a grand inquisitor, and sent about collectors to receive the tenths; and before the court could obtain answers from Rome to its representations on the subject, the legate had brought two hundred victims to the stake, and collected more than two hundred thousand crowns.

However, the marquis of Villanova, a Spanish nobleman, of whom the legate had borrowed at Seville a very considerable sum upon forged bills, determined, if possible, to repay himself the money with his own hands, instead of going to Lisbon and exposing himself to the intrigues and influence of the swindler there. The legate was at this time making his circuit through the country, and happened very conveniently

to be on the borders of Spain. The marquis unexpectedly advanced upon him with fifty men well-armed, carried him off prisoner, and conducted him to Madrid.

The whole imposture was speedily discovered at Lisbon; the council of Madrid condemned the legate Saavedra to be flogged, and sent to the galleys for ten years; but the most admirable circumstance was, that pope Paul IV. confirmed subsequently all that the impostor had established; out of the plenitude of his divine power he rectified all the little irregularities of the various procedures, and rendered sacred what before was merely human. Of what importance the arm which God employs in his sacred service?

Qu'importe de quel bras Dieu daigne se servir?

Such was the manner in which the inquisition became established at Lisbon; and the whole kingdom extolled the wisdom and providence of God on the occasion.

To conclude, the methods of procedure adopted by this tribunal are generally known; it is well known how strongly they are opposed to the false equity and blind reason of all other tribunals in the world. Men are imprisoned on the mere accusation of persons the most infamous; a son may denounce his father, and the wife her husband; the accused is never confronted with the accusers; and the property of the person convicted is confiscated for the benefit of the judges: such at least was the manner of its proceeding down to our own times. Surely in this we must perceive something decidedly divine; for it is absolutely incomprehensible that men should have patiently submitted to this yoke.

At length count Aranda has obtained the blessings of all Europe by paring the nails and filing the teeth of the monster in Spain; it breathes, however, still.*

* The subsequent history of the inquisition is well known, as well as the enlightened attempts to revive it in Spain, under the benignant and appropriate auspices of its present sovereign.—T.

INSTINCT.

‘INSTINCTUS, impulsus,’ impulse;—but what power impels us?

All feeling is instinct.

A secret conformity of our organs to their respective objects forms our instinct.

It is solely by instinct that we perform numberless involuntary movements, just as it is by instinct that we possess curiosity, that we run after novelty, that menaces terrify us, that contempt irritates us, that an air of submission appeases us, and that tears soften us.

We are governed by instinct, as well as cats and goats; this is one further circumstance in which we resemble the mere animal tribes—a resemblance as incontestable as that of our blood, our necessities, and the various functions of our bodies.

Our instinct is never so shrewd and skilful as theirs, and does not even approach it; a calf and a lamb, as soon as they are born, rush to the fountain of their mother’s milk; but unless the mother of the infant clasped it in her arms, and folded it to her bosom, it would inevitably perish.

No woman in a state of pregnancy was ever invincibly impelled to prepare for her infant a convenient wicker cradle, as the wren with its bill and claws prepares a nest for her offspring. But the power of reflection which we possess, in conjunction with two industrious hands presented to us by nature, raises us to an equality with the instinct of animals, and in the course of time places us infinitely above them, both in respect to good and evil:—a proposition condemned by the members of the ancient parliament and by the Sorbonne, natural philosophers of distinguished eminence, and who, it is well known, have admirably promoted the perfection of the arts.

Our instinct, in the first place, impels us to beat our brother when he vexes us, if we are roused into a passion with him and feel that we are stronger than he is. Afterwards, our sublime reason leads us on to

the invention of arrows, swords, pikes, and at length musquets, to kill our neighbours withal.

Instinct alone urges us all to *make* love—"Amor omnibus idem;" but Virgil, Tibullus, and Ovid *sing* it.

It is from instinct alone that a young artisan stands gazing with respect and admiration before the superfine gilt coach of a commissioner of taxes. Reason comes to the assistance of the young artisan; he is made a collector; he becomes polished; he embezzles; he rises to be a great man in his turn, and dazzles the eyes of his former comrades as he lolls at ease in his own carriage, more profusely gilded than that which originally excited his admiration and ambition.

What is this instinct which governs the whole animal kingdom, and which in us is strengthened by reason or repressed by habit? Is it "*divinæ particula auræ*?" Yes, undoubtedly it is something divine; for everything is so. Everything is the incomprehensible effect of an incomprehensible cause. Everything is swayed, is impelled by nature. We reason about everything, and originate nothing.

INTEREST.

WE shall teach mankind nothing, when we tell them that everything we do is done from interest. What! it will be said, is it from motives of interest that the wretched fakir remains stark-naked under the burning sun, loaded with chains, dying with hunger, half devoured by vermin, and devouring them in his turn? Yes, most undoubtedly it is; as we have stated elsewhere, he depends upon ascending to the eighteenth heaven, and looks with an eye of pity on the man who will be admitted only into the ninth.

The interest of the Malabar widow, who burns herself with the corpse of her husband, is to recover him in another world, and be there more happy even than the fakir. For, together with their metempsychosis, the Indians have another world; they resemble ourselves; their system admits of contradictions.

Were you ever acquainted with any king or republic

that made either war or peace, that issued decrees, or entered into conventions, from any other motive than that of interest?

With respect to the interest of money, consult, in the great Encyclopedia, the article of M. d'Alembert on Calculation, and that of M. Boucher d'Argis on Jurisprudence. We will venture to add a few reflections.

1. Are gold and silver merchandize? Yes; the author of the Spirit of Laws does not think so when he says:—"Money, which is the price of commodities, is hired and not bought."

It is both lent and bought. I buy gold with silver, and silver with gold; and their price fluctuates in all commercial countries from day to day.

The law of Holland requires bills of exchange to be paid in the silver coin of the country, and not in gold, if the creditor demands it. Then I buy silver money, and I pay for it in gold, or in cloth, corn, or diamonds.

I am in want of money, corn, or diamonds, for the space of a year; the corn, money, or diamond merchant says—I could, for this year, sell my money, corn, or diamonds to advantage. Let us estimate at four, five, or six per cent, according to the usage of the country, what I should lose by letting you have it. You shall, for instance, return me at the end of the year, twenty-one carats of diamonds for the twenty which I now lend you; twenty-one sacks of corn for the twenty; twenty-one thousand crowns for twenty thousand crowns. Such is interest. It is established among all nations by the law of nature. The maximum or highest rate of interest depends, in every country, on its own particular law.† At Rome money is lent on pledges at two and a half per cent. according to law, and the pledges are sold, if the money be not paid at the appointed time. I do not lend upon pledges, and I require only the interest customary in

* Book xxii. chap. 19.

† The rate of interest ought to be free, and the law is not right in fixing it, except in cases in which it has not been determined by a special contract.—*French Ed.*

Holland. If I was in China, I should ask of you the customary interest at Macao and Canton.

2. While the parties were proceeding with this bargain at Amsterdam, it happened that there arrived from St. Magliore, a jansenist, (and the fact is perfectly true, he was called the Abbé des Issarts); this jansenist says to the Dutch merchant, "Take care what you are about; you are absolutely incurring damnation; money must not produce money, 'nummus nummum non parit.' No one is allowed to receive interest for his money but when he is willing to sink the principal. The way to be saved is, to make a contract with the gentleman; and for twenty thousand crowns which you are never to have returned to you, you and your heirs will receive a thousand crowns per annum to all eternity."

"You jest," replies the Dutchman; "you are in this very case proposing to me a usury that is absolutely of the nature of an infinite series. I should (that is myself and heirs would) in that case receive back my capital at the end of twenty years, the double of it in forty, the four-fold of it in eighty; this you see would be just an infinite series. I cannot, besides, lend for more than twelve months, and I am contented with a thousand crowns as a remuneration."

THE ABBÉ DES ISSARTS.

I am grieved for your Dutch soul. God forbade the Jews to lend at interest, and you are well aware that a citizen of Amsterdam should punctually obey the laws of commerce given in a wilderness to runaway vagrants who had no commerce.

THE DUTCHMAN.

That is clear: all the world ought to be Jews; but it seems to me, that the law permitted the Hebrew horde to gain as much usury as they could from foreigners, and that, in consequence of this permission, they managed their affairs in the sequel remarkably well. Besides, the prohibition against one Jew's taking interest from another must necessarily have become obsolete, since our Lord Jesus, when preaching at Jerusalem, expressly said, that interest was in his time cent.

per cent: for in the parable of the talents he says, that the servant who had received five talents gained five others in Jerusalem by them; that he who had two gained two by them; and that the third who had only one, and did not turn that to any account, was shut up in a dungeon by his master, for not laying it out with the money-changers. But these money-changers were Jews; it was therefore between Jews that usury was practised at Jerusalem; therefore this parable, drawn from the circumstances and manners of the times, decidedly indicates that usury or interest was at the rate of cent. per cent. Read the twenty-fifth chapter of St. Matthew; he was conversant with the subject; he had been a commissioner of taxes in Galilee. Let me finish my agreement with this gentleman; and do not make me lose both my money and my time.

THE ABBE DES ISSARTS.

All that you say is very good and very fine; but the Sorbonne has decided, that lending money on interest is a mortal sin.

THE DUTCHMAN.

You must be laughing at me, my good friend, when you cite the Sorbonne as an authority to a merchant of Amsterdam. There is not a single individual among those wrangling railers themselves who does not obtain, whenever he can, five or six per cent. for his money by purchasing revenue bills, India bonds, assignments, and Canada bills. The clergy of France, as a corporate body, borrow at interest. In many of the provinces of France, it is the custom to stipulate for interest with the principal. Besides, the university of Oxford and that of Salamanca have decided against the Sorbonne. I acquired this information in the course of my travels; and thus we have authority against authority. Once more, I must beg you to interrupt me no longer.

THE ABBE DES ISSARTS.

The wicked, sir, are never at a loss for reasons. You are, I repeat, absolutely destroying yourself, for the abbé de St. Cyran, who has not performed any

miracles, and the abbé Paris, who performed some in St. Medard.

3. Before the abbé had finished his speech, the merchant drove him out of his counting-house; and after having legally lent his money, to the last penny, went to represent the conversation between himself and the abbé to the magistrates, who forbade the jansenists from propagating a doctrine so pernicious to commerce.

Gentlemen, said the chief bailiff, give us of efficacious grace as much as you please, of predestination as much as you please, and of communion as little as you please; on these points you are masters; but take care not to meddle with the laws of commerce.

INTOLERANCE.

READ the article "Intolerance" in the great Encyclopedia. Read the treatise on toleration composed on occasion of the dreadful assassination of John Calas, a citizen of Thoulouse; * and if, after that, you allow of persecution in matters of religion, compare yourself at once to Ravailiac. Ravailiac, you know, was highly intolerant.

The following is the substance of all the discourses ever delivered by the intolerant.

You monster! who will be burnt to all eternity in the other world, and whom I will myself burn as soon as ever I can in this; you really have the insolence to read De Thou and Bayle, who have been put into the index of prohibited authors at Rome! When I was preaching to you in the name of God, how Sampson had killed a thousand men with the jaw-bone of an ass, your head, still harder than the arsenal from which Sampson obtained his arms, showed me by a slight movement from left to right that you believed nothing of what I said. And when I stated, that the devil Asmodeus, who out of jealousy twisted the necks of the seven husbands of Sarah among the Medes, was

* See the second volume of Policy and Legislation.

put in chains in Upper Egypt, I saw a small contraction of your lips, in Latin called *cachinnus* (a grin) which plainly indicated to me, that in the bottom of your soul you held the history of Asmodeus in derision.

And as for you, Isaac Newton; Frederick the great, king of Prussia and elector of Brandenburg; John Locke; Catherine, empress of Russia, victorious over the Ottomans; John Milton; the beneficent sovereign of Denmark; Shakspeare; the wise king of Sweden; Leibnitz; the august house of Brunswick; Tillotson; the emperor of China; the parliament of England; the Council of the great Mogul; in short, all you who do not believe one word which I have taught in my courses on divinity, I declare to you, that I regard you all as pagans and publicans, as, in order to engrave it on your unimpressible brains, I have often told you before. You are a set of callous miscreants; you will all go to the gehennah were the worm dies not and the fire is not quenched; for I am right, and you are all wrong; and I have grace, and you have none. I confess three devotees in my neighbourhood, while you do not confess a single one; I have executed the mandates of bishops, which has never been the case with you; I have abused philosophers in the language of the fish-market, while you have protected, imitated, or equalled them; I have composed pious defamatory libels, stuffed with infamous calumnies, and you have never so much as read them. I say mass every day in Latin for fourteen sous, and you are never even so much as present at it, any more than Cicero, Cato, Pompey, Cæsar, Horace, or Virgil, were ever present at it;—consequently you deserve each of you to have your right hand cut off, your tongue cut out, to be put to the torture, and at last burnt at a slow fire; for God is merciful.

Such, without the slightest abatement, are the maxims of the intolerant, and the sum and substance of all their books. How delightful to live with such amiable people!

INUNDATION.

WAS there ever a time when the globe was entirely inundated? It is physically impossible.

It is possible that the sea may successively have covered every land, one part after another; and even this can only have happened by very slow gradation, and in a prodigious number of centuries. In the course of five hundred years the sea has retired from Aigues-Mortes, Frejus, and Ravenna, which were considerable ports, and left about two leagues of land dry. According to the ratio of such progression, it is clear that it would require two million and two hundred and fifty thousand years to produce the same effect through the whole circuit of the globe. It is a somewhat remarkable circumstance that this period of time nearly falls in with that which the axis of the earth would require to be raised, so as to coincide with the equator; a change extremely probable, which began to be considered so only about fifty years since, and which could not be completed in a shorter period of time than two million and three hundred thousand years.*

The beds or strata of shells, which have been discovered at the distance of some leagues from the sea, are an incontestible evidence that it has gradually deposited these marine productions on tracts which were formerly shores of the ocean; but that the water should have ever covered the whole globe at once, is an absurd chimera in physics, demonstrated to be impossible by the laws of gravitation, by the laws of fluids, and by the insufficient quantity of water for the purpose. We do not however, by these observations, at all mean to impeach the truth of the universal deluge, related in the Pentateuch; on the contrary, that is a miracle which it is our duty to believe; it is a miracle, and therefore could not have been accomplished by the laws of nature.

All is miracle in the history of the deluge—a mi-

* It is believed that La Place, in his *Mecanique Celeste*, has corrected this supposition.—T.

racle, that forty days of rain should have inundated the four quarters of the world, and have raised the water to the height of fifteen cubits above the tops of the loftiest mountains; a miracle, that there should have been cataracts, floodgates, and openings in heaven; a miracle; that all sorts of animals should have been collected in the ark from all parts of the world; a miracle that Noah found the means of feeding them for a period of ten months; a miracle, that all the animals with all their provisions could have been included and retained in the ark; a miracle, that the greater part of them did not die; a miracle, that after quitting the ark, they found food enough to maintain them; and a further miracle, but of a different kind, that a person, of the name of Pelletier, thought himself capable of explaining how all the animals could be contained and fed in Noah's ark naturally, that is, without a miracle.

But the history of the deluge being that of the most miraculous event of which the world ever heard, it must be the height of folly and madness to attempt an explanation of it: it is one of the mysteries which are believed by faith; and faith consists in believing that which reason does not believe—which is only another miracle.

The history of the universal deluge therefore is like that of the tower of Babel, of Balaam's ass, of the falling of the walls of Jericho at the sound of trumpets, of waters turned into blood of the passage of the Red Sea, and of the whole of the prodigies which God condescended to perform in favour of his chosen people—depths unfathomable by the human understanding.

JAPAN.

I ASK not in regard to Japan, whether this mass of islands is much greater than England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Orcades together, whether the emperor of Japan is more powerful than the emperor of Germany, or whether the Japanese bonzes are richer than the Spanish monks.

I will even unhesitatingly avow, that banished as we

are to the confines of the west, we have more genius than they have, all favoured as they are by the rising sun. Our tragedies and comedies are thought better; we have made more progress in astronomy, mathematics, paintings, sculpture, and music. And what is more, they have nothing which approaches to our Burgundy and Champagne.

But how is it that we have so long solicited permission to go among them, and that no Japanese has ever wished even to make a single voyage to us? We have ran to Meaco, to the land of Yesso, and to California; we would go to the moon with Astolpho if we had his hippogriff. Is this curiosity, restlessness of mind, or a real necessity?

As soon as the Europeans had cleared the Cape of Good Hope, the Propaganda flattered itself with subjugating and converting all the neighbouring people of the eastern seas. We traded with Asia, sword in hand, and every nation of the west, by turns, despatched merchants, soldiers, and priests.

Let us engrave on the turbulent brains of these adventurers the memorable words of the emperor Yonchin, when he drove all the jesuit missionaries and others from his empire, that they may be written on the gates of all the convents: "What would you say if we were to go into your country under the pretence of traffic, and tell your people that your religion is worthless, and that they must absolutely embrace ours?"

That is however what the Latin church has done throughout the earth. It cost Japan dear: it was on the point of being drowned in its own blood like Mexico and Peru.

There were in the islands of Japan twelve religions, which lived together very peaceably. Missionaries arrived from Portugal, and asked to make the thirteenth: they were answered, that they were very welcome, and that they could not have too many.

Thus monks were soon established at Japan with the title of bishops. Scarcely was their religion admitted for the thirteenth, than it would be the only one. One

of these bishops having in his way met a counsellor of state, disputed the path with him.* He maintained that he was of the first order of the state, and that the counsellor, being but the second, owed him much respect. The Japanese are much more haughty than humble. The monk-bishop and some christians were driven away in the year 1586. Soon after the christian religion was proscribed. The missionaries humbled themselves, asked pardon, obtained grace, and abused it.

Finally, in 1637, the Dutch having taken a vessel which sailed from Japan to Lisbon, they found in it letters from one named Moro, consul of Spain to Nangazaqui. These letters contained the plan of a conspiracy of the christians of Japan to possess themselves of the country, and specified the number of vessels which were to come from Europe and Asia to aid this enterprise.

The Dutch failed not to forward these letters to the government. Moro was seized: he was obliged to confess his crime, and was juridically condemned to be burnt.

All the converts of the jesuits and dominicans then took arms, to the number of thirty thousand; a dreadful civil war followed, and these christians were all exterminated.

The Dutch, for the reward of their service, obtained, as is well known, the liberty of exclusively trading with Japan, on condition that they would never exhibit any sign of christianity; and from that time they have been faithful to their promise.

I wish it was permitted me to ask these missionaries, after having administered to the destruction of so many people in America, their reason for doing the same thing, for the greater glory of God, at the extremities of the east?

If it were possible for devils to be released from hell to visit and ravage the earth, would they act otherwise? Is this to illustrate the text, "compel them to come in?"

* This fact is avowed in all the accounts.

Is it thus that christian mildness manifests itself? Is this the road to eternal life?

Readers, combine the recollection of this adventure with that of so many more.—Reflect and judge!

JEHOVAH.

JEHOVAH, the ancient name of God. No people ever pronounced it 'Geova,' as the French do; they pronounced it 'Iëvo;' you find it so written in San-choniathon, cited by Eusebius, Prep. book x.; in Diodorus, book ii.; and in Macrobius, Sat. book i. &c. All nations have pronounced *ie* and not *g*. This sacred name was formed out of the vowels *i, e, o, u*, in the east. Some pronounced *ie, oh*, with an aspirate, *i, e, o, va*. The word was always to be constituted of four letters, although we have here used five, for want of power to express these four characters.

We have already observed that, according to Clement of Alexandria, by seizing on the correct pronunciation of this name a person had it in his power to produce the death of any man. Clement gives an instance of it.

Long before the time of Moses, Seth had pronounced the name of 'Jehovah,' as is related in the fourth chapter of Genesis; and, according to the Hebrew, Seth was even called 'Jehovah.' Abraham swore to the king of Sodom by Jehovah, chap. xiv. 22.

From the word 'Jehovah,' the Latins derived 'Jove,' 'Jovis,' 'Jovispeter,' 'Jupiter.' In the bush, the Almighty says to Moses, My name is Jehovah. In the orders which he gave him for the court of Pharoah, he says to him: "I appeared to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, as the mighty God, only by my name 'Adonai,' I was not known to them; and I made a covenant with them."*

The Jews did not for a long time pronounce this name. It was common to the Phenicians and Egyp-

* Exodus vi. 3.

tians. It signified, that which is; and hence probably is derived the inscription of Isis, "I am all that is."

JEPHTHA.

SECTION I.

IT is evident from the text of the book of Judges, that Jephtha promised to sacrifice the first person that should come out of his house to congratulate him on his victory over the Ammonites. His only daughter presented herself before him for that purpose; he tore his garments and immolated her, after having promised her to go and deplore in the recesses of the mountains the calamity of her dying a virgin. The daughters of Israel long continued to celebrate this painful event, and devoted four days in the year to lamentation for the daughter of Jephtha.*

In whatever period this history was written, whether it was imitated from the Greek history of Agamemnon and Idomeneus, or was the model from which that history was taken; whether it might be anterior or posterior to similar narratives in Assyrian history, is not the point I am now examining. I keep strictly to the text. Jephtha vowed to make his daughter a burnt offering, and fulfilled his vow.

It was expressly commanded by the Jewish law to sacrifice men devoted to the Lord: "Every man that shall be devoted shall not be redeemed, but shall be put to death without remission." The Vulgate translates it—"He shall not be redeemed, but shall die the death."†

It was in virtue of this law that Samuel hewed in pieces king Agag, whom, as we have already seen, Saul had pardoned. In fact, it was for sparing Agag that Saul was rebuked by the Lord, and lost his kingdom.

Thus then we perceive sacrifices of human blood clearly established; there is no point of history more incontestable: we can only judge of a nation by its own archives, and by what it relates concerning itself.

* Judges, xi.

† Leviticus, xxvii. 29.

SECTION II.

There are then, it seems, persons to be found who hesitate at nothing, who falsify a passage of scripture as intrepidly as if they were quoting its very words, and who hope to deceive mankind by their falsehoods, knowing them perfectly to be such. If such daring impostors are to be found now, we cannot help supposing, that before the invention of printing, which affords such facility and almost certainty of detection, there existed a hundred times as many.

One of the most impudent falsifiers who have lately appeared is the author of an infamous libel entitled "The Anti-philosophic Dictionary," which truly deserves its title. But my readers will say, do not be so irritated; what is it to you that a contemptible book has been published? Gentlemen, it is to the subject of Jephtha, to the subject of human victims, of the blood of men sacrificed to God, that I am now desirous of drawing your attention!

The author, whoever he may be, translates the thirty-ninth verse of the first chapter of the history of Jephtha* as follows: "She returned to the house of her father, who fulfilled the consecration which he had promised by his vow, and his daughter remained in the state of virginity."

Yes, falsifier of the bible, I am irritated at it, I acknowledge; but you have lied to the holy spirit; which you ought to know is a sin which is never pardoned.

The passage in the Vulgate is as follows:—

"Et reversa est ad patrem suum, et fecit ei sicut voverat quæ ignorabat virum. Exindè mos increbuit in Israel et consuetudo servata est, ut post anni circumveniant in unum filiæ Israel, et plangent filiam Jephthe Galaaditæ, diebus quatuor."

"And she returned to her father, and he did to her as he had vowed, to her who had never known man; and hence came the usage, and the custom is still ob-

* Judges, xi.

served, that the daughters of Israel assemble every year to lament the daughter of Jephtha for four days."

You will just have the goodness, Mr. Anti-philosopher, to tell us, whether four days of lamentation every year have ever been devoted to weeping the fate of a young woman because she was consecrated?

Whether any nuns (religieuses) were ever solemnly appointed among a people who considered virginity an opprobrium?

And also, what is the natural meaning of the phrase, he did to her as he had vowed—"Fecit ei sicut voverat?"

What had Jephtha vowed? What had he promised by an oath to perform?—To kill his daughter; to offer her up as a burnt offering:—and he did kill her.

Read Calmet's dissertation on the rashness of Jephtha's vow and its fulfilment; read the law which he cites, that terrible law of Leviticus, in the twenty-seventh chapter, which commands that all which shall be devoted to the Lord shall not be ransomed, but shall die the death: "Non redimetur, sed morte morietur."

Observe the multitude of examples by which this most astonishing truth is attested. Look at the Amalekites and Canaanites; look at the king of Arad and all his family subjected to the law of devotion; look at the priest Samuel slaying king Agag with his own hands, and cutting him into pieces as a butcher cuts up an ox in his slaughter-house. After considering all this, go and corrupt, falsify, or deny holy scripture, in order to maintain your paradox; and insult those who revere the scripture, however astonishing and confounding they may find it. Give the lie direct to the historian Josephus, who transcribes the narrative in question, and positively asserts that Jephtha immolated his daughter. Pile revilings upon falsehoods, and calumny upon ignorance; sages will smile at your impotence; and sages, thank God, are at present neither few nor weak. Oh! that you could but see the sovereign contempt with which they look down upon the Rouths, when they corrupt the holy scripture, and when they boast of having disputed with the president Montes-

quieu in his last hour, and convinced him that he ought to think exactly like the jesuits!

JESUITS ; OR PRIDE.

THE jesuits have been so much a subject of discourse and discussion, that after having engaged the attention of Europe for a period of two hundred years, they at last begin to weary and disgust it, whether they write themselves, or whether any one else writes for or against that singular society; in which it must be confessed there have been found, and are to be found still, individuals of very extraordinary merit.

They have been reproached, in the six thousand volumes that have been written against them, with their lax morality, which has not however been more lax than that of the capuchins; and with their doctrine relating to the safety of the person of kings; a doctrine which after all is not to be compared with the horn-handled knife of James Clement; nor with the prepared host, the sprinkled wafer, which so well answered the purpose of Ange de Montepulciano, another jacobin, and which poisoned the emperor Henry VII.

It is not versatile grace which has been their ruin, nor the fraudulent bankruptcy of the reverend father La Valette, prefect of the apostolic missions. A whole order has not been expelled from France and Spain and the two Sicilies, because that order contained a single bankrupt. Nor was it effected by the odious deviations of the jesuit Guyot-Desfontaines,¹ or the jesuit Freron, or the reverend father Marsy, so injurious, in the latter instance, to the youthful and high-born victim. The public refused to attend these Greek and Latin imitations of Anacreon and Horace.

What is it then that was their ruin?—Pride. What! it may be asked by some—were the jesuits prouder than other monks? Yes; and so much so, that they procured a *lettre-de-cachet* against an ecclesiastic for calling them monks. One member of the society, called Croust, more brutal than the rest, a brother of the confessor of the second dauphiness, was absolutely, in my

presence, going to beat the son of M. de Guyot, afterwards king's advocate (*prêteur-royal*) at Strasburg, merely for saying he would go to see him in his convent.

It is perfectly incredible with what contempt they considered every university where they had not been educated, every book which they had not written, every ecclesiastic who was not 'a man of quality.' Of this I have myself, times without number, been a witness. They express themselves in the following language, in their libel intitled* "It is time to speak out:"—"Should we condescend even to speak to a magistrate who says the jesuits are proud and ought to be humbled?" They were so proud that they would not suffer any one to blame their pride.

Whence did this hateful pride originate? From father Guignard's having been hanged? which is literally true.

It must be remarked, that after the execution of that jesuit under Henry IV., and after the banishment of the society from the kingdom, they were recalled only on the indispensable condition that one jesuit should always reside at court, who should be responsible for all the rest. Coton was the person who thus became a hostage at the court of Henry IV.; and that excellent monarch, who was not without his little stratagems of policy, thought to conciliate the pope by making a hostage of his confessor.

From that moment every brother of the order seemed to feel as if he had been raised to be king's confessor. This place of first spiritual physician became a department of the administration under Louis XIII., and more so still under Louis XIV. The brother Vadblé, valet-de-chambre of father La Chaise, granted his protection to the bishops of France; and father Le Tellier ruled with a sceptre of iron those who were very well disposed to be so ruled. It was impossible that the greater part of the jesuits should not be puffed up by the consequence and power to which these two members of their society had been raised, and that they

should not become as insolent as the lacqueys of M. Louvois. There have been among them, certainly, men of knowledge, eloquence, and genius; these possessed some modesty, but those who had only mediocrity of talent or acquirement, were tainted with that pride which generally attaches to mediocrity and to the pedantry of a college.

From the time of father Garasse almost all their polemical works have been pervaded with an indecent and scornful arrogance which has roused the indignation of all Europe. This arrogance frequently sunk into the most pitiful meanness; so that they discovered the extraordinary secret of being at once objects of envy and contempt. Observe, for example, how they expressed themselves of the celebrated Pasquier, advocate-general of the Chamber of Accounts:—

“Pasquier is a mere porter, a Parisian varlet, a second-rate showman and jester, a journeyman retailer of ballads and old stories, a contemptible hireling, only fit to be a lacquey’s valet, a scrub, a disgusting ragamuffin, strongly suspected of heresy, and either heretical or much worse, a libidinous and filthy satyr, a master-fool by nature, in sharp, in flat, and throughout the whole gamut, a three-shod fool, a fool double-dyed, a fool in grain, a fool in every sort of folly.”

They afterwards polished their style; but pride, by becoming less gross, only became the more revolting.

Everything is pardoned except pride; and this accounts for the fact, that all the parliaments in the kingdom, the members of which had the greater part of them been disciples of the jesuits, seized the first opportunity of effecting their annihilation; and the whole land rejoiced in their downfall.

So deeply was the spirit of pride rooted in them, that it manifested itself with the most indecent rage, even while they were held down to the earth by the hand of justice, and their final sentence yet remained to be pronounced. We need only read the celebrated memorial already mentioned, intitled “It is Time to speak Out,” printed at Avignon in 1763, under the assumed name of Anvers. It begins with an ironical

pétition to the persons holding the court of parliament. It addresses them with as much superiority and contempt as could be shown in reprimanding a proctor's clerks. The illustrious M. de Montclar, procureur-général, the oracle of the parliament of Provence, is continually treated as 'M. Ripert,' and rebuked with as much consequence and authority as a mutinous and ignorant scholar by a professor in his chair. They pushed their audacity so far as to say,* that M. de Montclar 'blasphemed' in giving an account of the institution of the jesuits.

In their memorial, intitled "All shall be Told," they insult still more daringly the parliament of Metz, and always in the style of arrogance and dictation derived from the schools.

They have retained this pride, even in the very ashes to which France and Spain have now reduced them.† From the bottom of those ashes the serpent, scorched as it has been, has again raised its hostile head. We have seen a contemptible creature, of the name of Nonotte, set himself up for a critic on his masters; and although possessing merely talent enough for preaching to a mob in a church-yard, discoursing with all the ease of impudence about things of which he has not the slightest notion. Another insolent member of the society, called Patouillet, dared, in the bishop's mandates, to insult respectable citizens and officers of the king's household, whose very lacqueys would not have permitted him to speak to them.

One of the things on which they most prided themselves, was introducing themselves into the houses of the great in their last illness, as ambassadors of God, to open to them the gates of heaven, without their previously passing through purgatory. Under Louis XIV. it was considered as having a bad aspect, it was unfashionable and discreditable, to die without having passed through the hands of a jesuit; and the

* Vol. ii. 399.

† And it is yet to be seen whether they will not regain a share of influence by a return through the portal of humility. Happily, their past history alarms even Despotism itself.—T.

wretch, immediately after the fatal scene had closed, would go and boast to his devotees that he had just been converting a duke and peer, who, without his protection, would have been inevitably damned.

The dying man might say—By what right, you college excrement, do you intrude yourself on me in my dying moments? Was I ever seen to go to your cells when any of you had the fistula or gangrene, and were about to return your gross and unwieldy bodies to the earth? Has God granted your soul any rights over mine? Do I require a preceptor at the age of seventy? Do you carry the keys of paradise at your girdle? You dare to call yourself an ambassador of God; show me your patent; and if you have none, let me die in peace. No Benedictine, Chartreux, or Premonstrant, comes to disturb my dying moments; they have no wish to erect a trophy to their pride upon the bed of our last agony; they remain peacefully in their cells; do you rest quietly in yours; there can be nothing in common between you and me.

A comic circumstance occurred on a truly mournful occasion, when an English jesuit, of the name of Routh, eagerly strove to possess himself of the last hour of the great Montesquieu. “He came,” he said, “to bring back that virtuous soul to religion;” as if Montesquieu had not known what religion was better than a Routh; as if it had been the will of God that Montesquieu should think like a Routh! He was driven out of the chamber, and went all over Paris, exclaiming, “I have converted that celebrated man; I prevailed upon him to throw his Persian Letters and his Spirit of Laws into the fire.” Care was taken to print the narrative of the conversion of president Montesquieu by the reverend father Routh, in the libel intitled the “Anti-philosophic Dictionary.”*

Another subject of pride and ambition with the jesuits was making missions to various cities, just as if they

* We have already observed, that no one ventured to drive him away; he attended at the instant of the death of Montesquieu to steal his papers: in this he was prevented; but he took his revenge on the wine, and was at last carried away dead drunk to his convent.—*French Ed.*

had been among Indians or Japanese. They would oblige the whole magistracy to attend them in the streets; a cross was borne before them and planted in the principal public places; they dispossessed the resident clergy; they became complete masters of the city.* A jesuit of the name of Aubert performed one of these missions to Colmar, and compelled the advocate-general of the sovereign council to burn at his feet his copy of "Bayle," which had cost him no less than fifty crowns. For my own part, I acknowledge that I would rather have burned brother Aubert himself. Judge how the pride of this Aubert must have swelled with this sacrifice as he boasted of it to his comrades at night, and as he exultingly wrote the account of it to his general.

O monks, monks! be modest, as I have already advised you; be moderate, if you wish to avoid the calamities impending over you.

JEWS.

SECTION I.

You order me to draw you a faithful picture of the spirit of the Jews, and of their history, and—without entering into the ineffable ways of Providence, which are not our ways—you seek in the manners of this people the source of the events which that Providence prepared.

It is certain that the Jewish nation is the most singular that the world has ever seen; and although, in a political view, the most contemptible of all, yet in the eyes of a philosopher it is, on various accounts, worthy consideration.

The Guebres, the Banians, and the Jews, are the only nations which exist dispersed, having no alliance with any people, are perpetuated among foreign nations, and continue apart from the rest of the world.

The Guebres were once infinitely more considerable than the Jews, for they are castes of the Persians, who

had the Jews under their dominion; but they are now scattered over but one part of the east.

The Banians, who are descended from the ancient people amongst whom Pythagoras acquired his philosophy, exist only in India and Persia; but the Jews are dispersed over the whole face of the earth, and if they were assembled, would compose a nation much more numerous than it ever was in the short time that they were masters of Palestine. Almost every people who have written the history of their origin, have chosen to set it off by prodigies; with them all has been miracle; their oracles have predicted nothing but conquest; and such of them as have really become conquerors have had no difficulty in believing these ancient oracles which were verified by the event. The Jews are distinguished among the nations by this—that their oracles are the only true ones, of which we are not permitted to doubt. These oracles, which they understand only in the literal sense, have a hundred times foretold to them, that they should be masters of the whole world; yet they have never possessed anything more than a small corner of land, and that only for a small number of years, and they have not now so much as a village of their own. They must then believe, and they do believe, that their predictions will one day be fulfilled, and that they shall have the empire of the earth.

Among the mussulmans and the christians, they are the lowest of all nations, but they think themselves the highest. This pride in their abasement is justified by an unanswerable reason—viz. that they are in reality the fathers of both christians and mussulmans. The christian and the mussulman religion acknowledge the Jewish as their parent; and by a singular contradiction, they at once hold this parent in reverence and in abhorrence.

It were foreign to our present purpose to repeat, that continued succession of prodigies which astonishes the imagination and exercises the faith. We have here to do only with events purely historical, wholly apart from the divine concurrence and the miracles

which God, for so long a time, vouchsafed to work in this people's favour.

First, we find in Egypt a family of seventy persons producing, at the end of two hundred and fifteen years, a nation counting six hundred thousand fighting men; which makes, with the women, the children, and the old men, upwards of two millions of souls. There is no example upon earth of so prodigious an increase of population: this people, having come out of Egypt, staid forty years in the deserts of Stony Arabia, and in that frightful country the people much diminished.

What remained of this nation advanced a little northward in those deserts. It appears that they had the same principles which the tribes of Stony and Desert Arabia have since had, of butchering without mercy the inhabitants of little towns over whom they had the advantage, and reserving only the young women. The interests of population have ever been the principal object of both. We find, that when the Arabs had conquered Spain, they imposed tributes of marriageable girls; and at this day the Arabs of the desert make no treaty without stipulating for some girls and a few presents.

The Jews arrived in a sandy, mountainous country, where there were a few towns, inhabited by a little people called the Midianites. In one Midianite camp alone, they took six hundred and seventy-five thousand sheep, seventy-two thousand oxen, sixty-one thousand asses, and thirty-two thousand virgins. All the men, all the wives, and all the male children, were massacred: the girls and the booty were divided between the people and the sacrificers.

They then took, in the same country, the town of Jericho; but having devoted the inhabitants of that place to the anathema, they massacred them all, including the virgins, pardoning none but Rahab a courtesan, who had aided them in surprising the town.

The learned have agitated the question, whether the Jews, like so many other nations, really sacrificed men to the Divinity. This is a dispute on words: those

whom the people consecrated to the anathema, were not put to death on an altar, with religious rites; but they were not the less immolated, without its being permitted to pardon any one of them. Leviticus (chap. xxvii. 29.) expressly forbids the redeeming of those who shall have been devoted. Its words are, "They shall surely be put to death." By virtue of this law it was, that Jephtha devoted and killed his daughter, that Saul would have killed his son, and that the prophet Samuel cut in pieces king Agag, Saul's prisoner. It is quite certain that God is the master of the lives of men, and that it is not for us to examine his laws: we ought to limit ourselves to believing these things, and reverencing in silence the designs of God, who permitted them.

It is also asked, what right had strangers like the Jews to the land of Canaan? The answer is, that they had what God gave them.

No sooner had they taken Jericho and Laïs, than they had a civil war among themselves, in which the tribe of Benjamin was almost wholly exterminated, men, women, and children, leaving only six hundred males. The people, unwilling that one of the tribes should be annihilated, bethought themselves of sacking a whole city of the tribe of Manasseh, killing all the men, old and young, all the children, all the married women, all the widows, and taking six hundred virgins, whom they gave to the six hundred survivors of the tribe of Benjamin, to restore that tribe, in order that the number of their twelve tribes might still be complete.

Meanwhile, the Phenicians, a powerful people settled in the coasts from time immemorial, being alarmed at the depredations and cruelties of these new comers, frequently chastised them; the neighbouring princes united against them; and they were seven times reduced to slavery, for more than two hundred years.

At last, they made themselves a king, whom they elected by lot. This king could not be very mighty; for in the first battle which the Jews fought under him, against their masters the Philistines, they had, in the

whole army, but one sword and one lance, and not one weapon of steel. But David, their second king, made war with advantage. He took the city of Salem, afterwards so celebrated under the name of Jerusalem, and then the Jews began to make some figure on the borders of Syria. Their government and their religion took a more august form. Hitherto they had not the means of raising a temple, though every neighbouring nation had one or more. Solomon built a superb one, and reigned over this people about forty years.

Not only were the days of Solomon the most flourishing days of the Jews; but all the kings upon earth together could not exhibit a treasure approaching Solomon's. His father David, whose predecessor had not even iron, left to Solomon twenty-five thousand six hundred and forty-eight millions of French livres in ready money. His fleets, which went to Ophir, brought him sixty-eight millions per annum in pure gold, without reckoning the silver and jewels. He had forty thousand stables, and the same number of coach-houses, twelve thousand stables for his cavalry, seven hundred wives, and three hundred concubines. Yet he had neither wood nor workmen for building his palace and the temple: he borrowed them of Hiram king of Tyre, who also furnished gold; and Solomon gave Hiram twenty towns in payment. The commentators have acknowledged that these things need explanation, and have suspected some literal error in the copyers, who alone can have been mistaken.

On the death of Solomon, a division took place among the twelve tribes, composing the nation. The kingdom was torn asunder, and separated into two small provinces, one of which was called Judah, the other Israel,—nine tribes and a half composing the Israelitish province, and only two and a half that of Judah. Then there was between these two small peoples a hatred, the more implacable as they were kinsmen and neighbours, and as they had different religions; for at Sichem and at Samaria they worshipped 'Baal'—giving to God a Sidonian name; while at Jerusalem they worshipped 'Adonai.' At

Sichem were consecrated two calves; at Jerusalem, two cherubim—which were two winged animals with double heads, placed in the sanctuary. So, each faction having its kings, its Gods, its worship, and its prophets, they made a bloody war upon each other.

While this war was carrying on, the kings of Assyria, who conquered the greater part of Asia, fell upon the Jews, as an eagle pounces upon two lizards while they are fighting. The nine and a half tribes of Samaria and Sichem were carried off and dispersed for ever; nor has it been precisely known to what places they were led into slavery.

It is but twenty leagues from the town of Samaria to Jerusalem, and their territories joined each other; so that when one of these towns was enslaved by powerful conquerors, the other could not long hold out. Jerusalem was sacked several times; it was tributary to kings Hazael and Razin, enslaved under Teglath-phael-asser, three times taken by Nebuchodonosor, or Nebuchodon-asser, and at last destroyed. Zedekias, who had been set up as king or governor by this conqueror, was led, with his whole people, into captivity in Babylonia; so that the only Jews left in Palestine were a few enslaved peasants, to sow the ground.

As for the little country of Samaria and Sichem, more fertile than that of Jerusalem, it was re-peopled by foreign colonies, sent there by Assyrian kings, who took the name of Samaritans.

The two and a half tribes that were slaves in Babylonia and the neighbouring towns for seventy years, had time to adopt the usages of their masters, and enriched their own tongue by mixing with it the Chaldean: this is incontestable. The historian Josephus tells us, that he wrote first in Chaldean, which is the language of his country. It appears that the Jews acquired but little of the science of the magi: they turned brokers, money-changers, and old-clothes men; by which they made themselves necessary, as they still do, and grew rich.

Their gains enabled them to obtain, under Cyrus,

the liberty of re-building Jerusalem ; but when they were to return into their own country, those who had grown rich at Babylon, would not quit so fine a country for the mountains of Cœlesyria, nor the fruitful banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris, for the torrent of Cedron. Only the meanest part of the nation returned with Zorobabel. The Jews of Babylon contributed only their alms to the rebuilding of the city and the temple ; nor was the collection a large one ; for Esdras relates, that no more than seventy thousand crowns could be raised for the erection of this temple, which was to be that of all the earth.

The Jews still remained subject to the Persians ; they were likewise subject to Alexander ; and when that great man, the most excusable of all conquerors, had, in the early years of his victorious career, begun to raise Alexandria, and make it the centre of the commerce of the world, the Jews flocked thither to exercise their trade of brokers ; and there it was that their rabbis at length learned something of the sciences of the Greeks. The Greek tongue became absolutely necessary to all trading Jews.

After Alexander's death, this people continued subject in Jerusalem to the kings of Syria, and in Alexandria to the kings of Egypt ; and when these kings were at war, this people always shared the fate of their subjects, and belonged to the conqueror.

From the time of their captivity at Babylon, the Jews never had particular governors taking the title of king. The pontiffs had the internal administration, and these pontiffs were appointed by their masters : they sometimes paid very high for this dignity, as the Greek patriarch at Constantinople pays for his at present.

Under Antiochus Epiphanes they revolted : the city was once more pillaged, and the walls demolished.

After a succession of similar disasters, they at length obtained, for the first time, about a hundred and fifty years before the christian era, permission to coin money, which permission was granted them by Antiochus Sidetes. They then had chiefs, who took the

name of kings, and even wore a diadem. Antigonus was the first who was decorated with this ornament, which, without the power, confers but little honour.

At that time the Romans were beginning to become formidable to the kings of Syria, masters of the Jews; and the latter gained over the Roman senate by presents and acts of submission. It seemed that the wars in Asia Minor would, for a time at least, give some relief to this unfortunate people; but Jerusalem no sooner enjoyed some shadow of liberty than it was torn by civil wars, which rendered its condition under its phantoms of kings much more pitiable than it had ever been in so long and various a succession of bondages.

In their intestine troubles, they made the Romans their judges. Already most of the kingdoms of Asia Minor, Southern Africa, and three-fourths of Europe, acknowledged the Romans as their arbiters and masters.

Pompey came into Syria to judge the nations and to depose several petty tyrants. Being deceived by Aristobulus, who disputed the royalty of Jerusalem, he revenged himself upon him and his party. He took the city; had some of the seditious, either priests or pharisees, crucified; and, not long after, condemned Aristobulus, king of the Jews, to execution.

The Jews, ever unfortunate, ever enslaved, and ever revolting, again brought upon them the Roman arms. Crassus and Cassius punished them; and Metellus Scipio had a son of king Aristobulus, named Alexander, the author of all the troubles, crucified.

Under the great Cæsar, they were entirely subject and peaceable. Herod, famed among them and among us, for a long time was merely tetrarch, but obtained from Antony the crown of Judea, for which he paid dearly; but Jerusalem would not recognise this new king, because he was descended from Esau, and not from Jacob, and was merely an Idumæan. The very circumstance of his being a foreigner caused him to be chosen by the Romans, the better to keep this people in check.

The Romans protected the king of their nomination with an army; and Jerusalem was again taken by assault, sacked and pillaged.

Herod, afterwards protected by Augustus, became one of the most powerful sovereigns among the petty kings of Arabia. He restored Jerusalem, repaired the fortifications that surrounded the temple, so dear to the Jews, and rebuilt the temple itself; but he could not finish it, for he wanted money and workmen. This proves that, after all, Herod was not rich; and the Jews, though fond of their temple, were still fonder of their money.

The name of king was nothing more than a favour granted by the Romans; it was not a title of succession. Soon after Herod's death, Judea was governed as a subordinate Roman province, by the proconsul of Syria, although from time to time the title of king was granted, sometimes to one Jew, sometimes to another, for a considerable sum of money, as under the emperor Claudius, when it was granted to the Jew Agrippa.

A daughter of Agrippa was that Berenice, celebrated for having been beloved by one of the best emperors Rome can boast. She it was who, by the injustice she experienced from her countrymen, drew down the vengeance of the Romans upon Jerusalem. She asked for justice, and the factions of the town refused it. The seditious spirit of the people impelled them to fresh excesses. Their character at all times was to be cruel; and their fate, to be punished.

This memorable siege, which ended in the destruction of the city, was carried on by Vespasian and Titus. The exaggerating Josephus pretends, that in this short war more than a million of Jews were slaughtered. It is not to be wondered at, that an author who puts fifteen thousand men in each village, should slay a million. What remained, were exposed in the public markets; and each Jew was sold at about the same price as the unclean animal of which they dare not eat.

In this last dispersion they again hoped for a deliverer; and under Adrian, whom they curse in their prayers, there arose one Barcochebas, who called himself a second Moses—a Shiloh—a Christ. Having assembled many of these wretched people under his banners, which they believed to be sacred, he perished with all his followers. It was the last struggle of this nation, which has never lifted its head again. Its constant opinion, that barrenness is a reproach, has preserved it: the Jews have ever considered as their two first duties, to get money and children.

From this short summary it results, that the Hebrews have ever been vagrants, or robbers, or slaves, or seditious. They still are vagabonds upon the earth, and abhorred by men,* yet affirming that heaven and earth and all mankind were created for them alone.

It is evident, from the situation of Judea, and the genius of this people, that they could not but be continually subjugated. It was surrounded by powerful and warlike nations, for which it had an aversion; so that it could neither be in alliance with them, nor protected by them. It was impossible for it to maintain itself by its marine; for it soon lost the port which in Solomon's time it had on the Red Sea; and Solomon himself always employed Tyrians to build and to steer his vessels, as well as to erect his palace and his temple. It is then manifest, that the Hebrews had neither trade nor manufactures, and that they could not compose a flourishing people. They never had an army always ready for the field, like the Assyrians, the Medes, the Persians, the Syrians, and the Romans. The labourers and artisans took up arms only as occasion required, and consequently could not form well-disciplined troops. Their mountains, or rather their rocks, are neither high enough, nor sufficiently contiguous, to have afforded an effectual barrier against invasion. The most numerous part of the nation; transported to Babylon, Persia, and to India, or settled in Alexandria,

* Not so at present: princes and rulers sit at their feasts, and christian emperors make barons of them.—T.

were too much occupied with their traffic and their brokerage, to think of war. Their civil government, sometimes republican, sometimes pontifical, sometimes monarchical, and very often reduced to anarchy, seems to have been no better than their military discipline.

You ask, what was the philosophy of the Hebrews? The answer will be a very short one:—they had none. Their legislator himself does not anywhere speak expressly of the immortality of the soul, nor of the rewards of another life. Josephus and Philo believe the soul to be material; their doctors admitted corporeal angels; and while they sojourned at Babylon they gave to these angels the names given them by the Chaldeans—Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel. The name of Satan is Babylonian, and is in some wise the Arimanes of Zoroaster. The name of Asmodeus also is Chaldean; and Tobit, who lived at Nineveh, is the first who employed it. The dogma of the immortality of the soul was developed only in the course of ages, and among the pharisees. The sadducees always denied this spirituality, this immortality, and the existence of the angels. Nevertheless, the sadducees communicated uninterruptedly with the pharisees, and had even sovereign pontiffs of their own sect. The prodigious difference in opinion between these two great bodies did not cause any disturbance. The Jews, in the latter times of their sojourn at Jerusalem, were scrupulously attached to nothing but the ceremonials of their law. The man who should have eaten pudding or rabbit, would have been stoned; while he who denied the immortality of the soul might be high-priest.

It is commonly said, that the abhorrence in which the Jews held other nations, proceeded from their horror of idolatry; but it is much more likely, that the manner in which they at the first exterminated some of the tribes of Canaan, and the hatred which the neighbouring nations conceived for them, were the cause of this invincible aversion. As they knew no nations but their neighbours, they thought that in abhorring them

they detested the whole earth, and thus accustomed themselves to be the enemies of all men.

One proof that this hatred was not caused by the idolatry of the nations is, that we find in the history of the Jews, that they were very often idolaters. Solomon himself sacrificed to strange gods. After him, we find scarcely any king in the little province of Judah; that does not permit the worship of these gods and offer them incense. The province of Israel kept its two calves and its sacred groves, or adored other divinities.

This idolatry, with which so many nations are reproached, is a subject on which but little light has been thrown. Perhaps it would not be difficult to efface this stain upon the theology of the ancients. All polished nations had the knowledge of a supreme God, the master of the inferior gods and of men. The Egyptians themselves recognised a first principle, which they called Knef, and to which all beside was subordinate. The ancient Persians adored the good principle, named Orosmanes; and were very far from sacrificing to the bad principle Arimanes, whom they regarded nearly as we regard the devil. Even to this day, the Guebres have retained the sacred dogma of the unity of God. The ancient bramins acknowledged one only Supreme Being: the Chinese associated no inferior being with the Divinity, nor had any idol until the times when the populace were led astray by the worship of Fo, and the superstitions of the bonzes. The Greeks and the Romans, notwithstanding the multitude of their gods, acknowledged in Jupiter the absolute sovereign of heaven and earth. Homer himself, in the most absurd poetical fictions, has never lost sight of this truth. He constantly represents Jupiter as the only All-mighty, sending good and evil upon earth, and with a motion of his brow striking gods and men with awe. Altars were raised, and sacrifices offered to inferior gods, dependant on the one supreme. There is not a single monument of antiquity in which the title of sovereign of heaven is given to any

secondary deity—to Mercury, to Apollo, to Mars. The thunderbolt was ever the attribute of the master of all, and of him only.

The idea of a Sovereign Being, of his providence, of his eternal decrees, is to be found among all philosophers and all poets. In short, it is perhaps as unjust to think that the ancients equalled the heroes, the genii, the inferior gods, to him whom they called "the father and master of the gods," as it would be ridiculous to imagine that we associate with God the blessed and the angels.

You then ask, whether the ancient philosophers and lawgivers borrowed from the Jews, or the Jews from them? We must refer the question to Philo: he owns that before the translation of the Septuagint, the books of his nation were unknown to strangers. A great people cannot have received their laws and their knowledge from a little people, obscure and enslaved. In the time of Osias, indeed, the Jews had no books: in his reign was accidentally found the only copy of the law then in existence. This people, after their captivity at Babylon, had no other alphabet than the Chaldean: they were not famed for any art, any manufacture whatsoever; and even in the time of Solomon they were obliged to pay dear for foreign artisans. To say, that the Egyptians, the Persians, the Greeks, were instructed by the Jews, were to say, that the Romans learned the arts from the people of Britany. The Jews never were natural philosophers, nor geometricians, nor astronomers. So far were they from having public schools for the instruction of youth, that they had not even a term in their language to express such an institution. The people of Peru and Mexico measured their year much better than the Jews. Their stay in Babylon and in Alexandria, during which individuals might instruct themselves, formed the people to no art save that of usury. They never knew how to stamp money; and when Antiochus Sidetes permitted them to have a coinage of their own, they were almost incapable of profiting by this permission for four or five years; indeed, this coin is said to have

been struck at Samaria. Hence it is, that Jewish models are so rare, and nearly all false. In short, we find in them only an ignorant and barbarous people, who have long united the most sordid avarice with the most detestable superstition and the most invincible hatred for every people by whom they are tolerated and enriched. Still, we ought not to burn them.

SECTION II.

The Jewish Law.

Their law must appear, to every polished people, as singular as their conduct; if it were not divine, it would seem to be the law of savages beginning to assemble themselves into a nation; and being divine, one cannot understand how it is that it has not existed from all ages, for them, and for all men.*

But it is more strange than all, that the immortality of the soul is not even intimated in this law, intitled "Vaicrah and Addebarim," Leviticus and Deuteronomy.

In this law it is forbidden to eat eels, because they have no scales; and hares, because they chew the cud, and have cloven feet. Apparently, the Jews had hares different from ours. The griffin is unclean, and four-footed birds are unclean, which animals are somewhat rare. Whoever touches a mouse, or a mole, is unclean. The women are forbidden to lie with horses or asses. The Jewish women must have been subject to this sort of gallantry. The men are forbidden to offer up their seed to Moloch; and here the term seed is not metaphorical. The text even calls this offering fornication. In this particular the book of the Vaicrah is very curious. It seems that it was very customary, in the deserts of Arabia, to offer up this singular present to the gods; as it is said to be usual in Cochin and some other countries of India, for the girls to yield their virginity to an iron Priapus in a temple. These two ceremonies prove that mankind are capable of everything. The Caffres, who deprive themselves of one testicle, are

* See MOSA.

a still more ridiculous example of the extravagance of superstition.

Another law of the Jews, equally strange, is their proof of adultery. A woman accused by her husband must be presented to the priests, and she is made to drink of the waters of jealousy, mixed with wormwood and dust. If she is innocent, the water makes her more beautiful and more fruitful; if she is guilty, her eyes start from her head, her belly swells, and she bursts before the Lord.

We shall not here enter into the details of all these sacrifices, which were nothing more than the operations of ceremonial butchers; but it is of great importance to remark another kind of sacrifice too common in those barbarous times. It is expressly ordered, in the twenty-seventh chapter of Leviticus, that all men, vowed in anathema to the Lord, be immolated: they "shall surely be put to death;" such are the words of the text. Here is the origin of the story of Jephthah,—whether his daughter was really immolated, or the story was copied from that of Iphegenia. Here too is the source of the verse made by Saul, who would have immolated his son, but that the army, less superstitious than himself, saved the innocent young man's life.

It is then but too true, that the Jews, according to their law, sacrificed human victims. This act of religion is in accordance with their manners; their own books represent them as slaughtering without mercy all that came in their way, reserving only the virgins for their use.

It would be very difficult (and should be very unimportant) to know at what time these laws were digested into the form in which we now have them. That they are of very high antiquity, is enough to inform us how gross and ferocious the manners of that antiquity were.

SECTION III.

The Dispersion of the Jews.

It has been pretended that the dispersion of this people had been foretold, as a punishment for their

refusing to acknowledge Jesus Christ as the Messiah; the asserters affecting to forget, that they had been dispersed throughout the known world long before Jesus Christ. The books that are left us of this singular nation make no mention of a return of the twelve tribes transported beyond the Euphrates by Teglath Phalsar and his successor Salmanasar; and it was six hundred years after, that Cyrus sent back to Jerusalem the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, which Nebuchodonosor had brought away into the provinces of his empire. The Acts of the Apostles certify, that fifty-three days after the death of Jesus Christ, there were Jews from every nation under heaven assembled for the feast of Pentecost. St. James writes to the twelve dispersed tribes; and Josephus and Philo speak of the Jews as very numerous throughout the east.

It is true, that considering the carnage that was made of them under some of the Roman emperors, and the slaughter of them so often repeated in every christian state, one is astonished that this people not only still exists, but is at this day no less numerous than it was formerly. Their numbers must be attributed to their exemption from bearing arms, their ardour for marriage, their custom of contracting it in their families early, their law of divorce, their sober and regular way of life, their abstinence, their toil, and their exercise.

Their firm attachment to the Mosaic law is no less remarkable, especially when we consider their frequent apostacies when they lived under the government of their kings and their judges; and Judaism is now, of all the religions in the world, the one most rarely abjured—which is partly the fruit of the persecutions it has suffered. Its followers, perpetual martyrs to their creed, have regarded themselves with progressively increasing confidence as the fountain of all sanctity; looking upon us as no other than rebellious Jews, who have uttered the law of God, and put to death or torture those who received it from his hand.

Indeed, if while Jerusalem and its temple existed, the Jews were sometimes driven from their country by the vicissitudes of empires, they have still more fre-

quently been expelled through a blind zeal from every country in which they have dwelt since the progress of christianity and mahometanism. They themselves compare their religion to a mother, upon whom her two daughters, the christian and the mahometan, have inflicted a thousand wounds. But, how ill soever she has been treated by them, she still glories in having given them birth. She makes use of them both to embrace the whole world, while her own venerable age embraces all time.

It is singular, that the christians pretend to have accomplished the prophecies by tyrannising over the Jews by whom they were transmitted. We have already seen how the inquisition banished the Jews from Spain. Obligated to wander from land to land, from sea to sea, to gain a livelihood; everywhere declared incapable of possessing any landed property, or holding any office, they have been obliged to disperse, and roam from place to place, unable to establish themselves permanently in any country, for want of support, of power to maintain their ground, and of knowledge in the art of war. Trade, a profession long despised by most of the nations of Europe, was, in those barbarous ages, their only resource; and as they necessarily grew rich by it, they were treated as infamous usurers. Kings who could not ransack the purses of their subjects, put the Jews, whom they regarded not as citizens, to torture.

What was done to them in England may give some idea of what they experienced in other countries. King John, being in want of money, had the rich Jews in his kingdom imprisoned. One of them, having had seven of his teeth drawn one after another, to obtain his property, gave, on losing the eighth, a thousand marks of silver. Henry III. extorted from Aaron, a Jew of York, fourteen thousand marks of silver, and ten thousand for his queen. He sold the rest of the Jews of his country to his brother Richard, for the term of one year, in order, says Matthew Paris, that this count might embowel those whom his brother had flayed.

In France, they were put in prison, plundered, sold,

accused of magic, of sacrificing children, of poisoning the fountains. They were driven out of the kingdom; they were suffered to return for money; and even while they were tolerated, they were distinguished from the rest of the inhabitants by marks of infamy. And, by an inconceivable whimsicality, while in other countries the Jews were burned to make them embrace christianity, in France the property of such as became christians was confiscated. Charles IV., by an edict given at Balville, April 4, 1392, abrogated this tyrannical custom, which, according to the Benedictine Mabillon, had been introduced for two reasons:—

First, to try the faith of these new converts, as it was but too common for those of this nation to feign submission to the gospel for some personal interest, without internally changing their belief.

Secondly, because, as they derived their wealth chiefly from usury, the purity of christian morals appeared to require them to make a general restitution, which was effected by confiscation.

But the true reason of this custom, which the author of the Spirit of Laws has so well developed, was a sort of “*droit d’amortissement*”—a redemption, for the sovereign or the seigneurs, of the taxes which they levied on the Jews, as mortmainable serfs, whom they succeeded; for they were deprived of this benefit when the latter were converted to the christian faith.

At length, being incessantly proscribed in every country, they ingeniously found the means of saving their fortunes, and making their retreats for ever secure. Being driven from France under Philip the Long in 1318, they took refuge in Lombardy; there they gave to the merchants bills of exchange on those to whom they had entrusted their effects at their departure, and these were discharged.

The admirable invention of bills of exchange sprang from the extremity of despair; and then, and not until then, commerce was enabled to elude the efforts of violence, and maintain itself throughout the world.

SECTION IV.

In Answer to some Objections.

*Letters to Joseph, Ben, Jonathan, Aaron, Mathatai, and David Wincker.**

FIRST LETTER.

Gentlemen,—When, forty-four years ago, your countryman Medina became a bankrupt in London, being twenty thousand francs in my debt, he told me that “it was not his fault;” that “he was unfortunate;” that “he had never been one of the children of Belial;” that “he had always endeavoured to live as a son of God”—that is, as an honest man, a good Israelite. I was affected; I embraced him; we joined in the praise of God; and I lost eighty per cent.

You ought to know that I never hated your nation; I hate no one; not even Fréron.

Far from hating, I have always pitied you. If, like my protector good pope Lambertini, I have sometimes bantered a little, I am not therefore the less sensitive. I wept, at the age of sixteen, when I was told that a mother and her daughter had been burned at Lisbon for having eaten standing a little lamb, cooked with lettuce, on the fourteenth day of the red moon; and I can assure you, that the extreme beauty which this girl was reported to have possessed had no share in calling forth my tears, although it must have increased the spectators' horror for the assassins, and their pity for the victim.

I know not how it entered my head to write an epic poem at the age of twenty. (Do you know what an epic poem is? For my part I then knew nothing of the matter). The legislator Montesquieu had not yet written his *Persian Letters*, which you reproach me with having commented on; but I had already of myself said, speaking of a monster well known to your

* See the work intitled “One Christian against Six Jews.”—*Mélanges Historiques*, tom. i.

ancestors, and which even now is not without devotees:—

Il vient ; le fanatisme est son horrible nom ;
Enfant dénaturé de la religion :
Armé pour la défendre, il cherche à la détruire,
Et reçu dans son sein, l'embrasse et le déchire.

C'est lui qui dans Raba, sur les bords de l'Arnon
Guidait les descendans du malheureux Ammon,
Quand à Molve leur dieu des mères gémissantes
Offraient de leurs enfans les entrailles fumantes.
Il dicta de Jephté le serment inhumain :
Dans le cœur de sa fille il conduisit sa main.
C'est lui qui, de Calchas ouvrant la bouche impie,
Demanda par sa voix la mort d'Iphigénie.
France, dans tes forêts il habita long-tems.
A l'affreux Tentatès il offrit ton encens.
Tu n'a point oublié ces sacres homicides,
Qu'à tes indignes dieux présentaient tes druides.
Du haut du capitol il criait aux Païens.
"Frappez, exterminiez, déchirez les chrétiens."
Mais lorsqu'au fils de Dieu Rome enfin fut soumise,
Du capitol en cendre il passa dans l'Eglise ;
Et dans les cœurs chrétiens inspirant ses fureurs,
De martyrs qu'ils étaient les fit persécuteurs.
Dans Londres il a formé la secte turbulente
Qui sur un roi trop faible a mis sa main sanglante ;
Dans Madrid, dans Lisbonne, il allume ces feux,
Ces buchers solennels où des Juifs malheureux
Sont tous les ans en pompe envoyés par des prêtres,
Pour n'avoir point quitté la foi de leurs ancêtres.

He comes ; the fiend Fanaticism comes—
Religion's horrid and unnatural child—
Armed to defend her, aiming to destroy—
Tearing her bosom in his feigned embrace,

'Twas he who guided Ammon's wretched race
On Arnon's banks, where mothers offer'd up
Their children's mangled limbs on Moloch's altars.
'Twas he who prompted Jephtha's barbarous oath,
And aimed the poniard at his daughter's heart.
'Twas he who spoke, when Calchas' impious tongue
Called for the blameless Iphigenia's death.
France, he long revelled in thy forest-shades,
Offering thy incense to the grim Tentates,
Whetting the savage druid's murderous knife
To sate his worthless gods with human gore.
He, from the capitol, stirred Pagan hearts
To exterminate Christ's followers ; and he,
When Rome herself had bowed to christian truth,

Quitted the capitol to rule the church—
To reign supreme in every christian soul,
And make the Pagans martyrs in their turn.
His were in England the fierce sect who laid
Their bloody hands on a too feeble king.
His are Madrid's and Lisbon's horrid fires,
The yearly portion of unhappy Jews,
By priestly judges doomed to temporal flames
For thinking their forefathers' faith the best.

You clearly see then, that even so long ago I was your servant, your friend, your brother; although my father and mother had preserved to me my foreskin.

I am aware that virility, whether circumcised or uncircumcised, has caused very fatal quarrels. I know what it cost Priam's son Paris, and Agamemnon's brother Menelaus. I have read enough of your books to know that Hamor's son Sichem ravished Leah's daughter Dinah, who at most was not more than five years old, but was very forward for her age. He wanted to make her his wife; and Jacob's sons, brothers of the violated damsel, gave her to him in marriage, on condition that he and all his people should be circumcised. When the operation was performed, and all the Sichemites, or Sichimites, were lying in of the pains consequent thereupon, the holy patriarchs Simeon and Levi cut all their throats one after another. But after all, I do not believe that uncircumcision ought now to produce such abominable horrors; and especially I do not think that men should hate, detest, anathematise, and damn one another every Saturday and Sunday, on account of a morsel more or less of flesh.

If I have said that some of the circumcised have clipped money at Metz, at Frankfort on the Oder, and at Warsaw (which I do not remember) I ask their pardon; for, being almost at the end of my pilgrimage, I have no wish to embroil myself with Israel.

I have the honour to be (as they say)

Yours, &c.

SECOND LETTER.

Antiquity of the Jews.

Gentlemen,—I have ever agreed, having read a few historical books for amusement, that you are a very

ancient people; and your origin may be dated much farther back than that of the Teutones, the Celts, the Sicambri, the Bretons, the Sclavonians, the Angles, and the Hurons. I see you assembling as a people in a capital called, sometimes Hershalaim, sometimes Shalheh, on the hill Moriah; and on the hill Sion, near a desert, on a stony soil, by a small torrent which is dry six months of the year.

When you began to establish yourselves in your corner, I will not say of land, but of pebbles, Troy had been destroyed by the Greeks about two centuries.

Medon was archon of Athens.

Echestratus was reigning in Lacedæmon.

Latinus Sylvius was reigning in Latium.

And Osochor in Egypt.

The Indies had been flourishing for a long succession of ages.

This was the most illustrious period of Chinese history. The emperor Tchín-wang was reigning with glory over that vast empire; all the sciences were there cultivated; and the public annals inform us that the king of Cochin China, having come to pay his respects to this emperor, Tchín-wang, received from him a present of a mariner's compass. This compass might have been of great service to your Solomon, for his fleets that went to the fine country of Ophir, which no one has ever known anything about.

Thus, after the Chaldeans, the Syrians, the Persians, the Phenicians, the Egyptians, the Greeks, the Indians, the Chinese, the Latins, and the Tuscans, you are the first people upon earth who had any known form of government.

The Banians, the Guebres, and yourselves, are the only nations which, dispersed out of their own country, have preserved their ancient rites; for I make no account of the little Egyptian troops, called Zingari in Italy, Gypsies in England, and Bohemians in France, which had preserved the antique ceremonies of the worship of Isis, the cistern, the cymbals, the dance of

him; the prophesying, and the art of robbing hen-roosts.

These sacred troops are beginning to disappear from the face of the earth; while their pyramids still belong to the Turks, who perhaps will not always be masters of them—the figure of all things on this earth doth so pass away.

You say, that you have been settled in Spain ever since the days of Solomon: I believe it, and will even venture to think, that the Phenicians might carry some Jews thither long before, when you were slaves in Phenicia, after the horrid massacres which you say were committed by the robber, Joshua, and by that other robber, Caleb.

Your books* indeed say, that you were reduced to slavery under Chushan-Rashataim, king of Mesopotamia, for eight years; under Eglon, king of Moab,† for eighteen years; then under Jabin, king of Canaan,‡ for twenty years; then in the little canton of Midian, from which you had issued, and where you dwelt in caverns for seven years.

Then in Gilead, for eighteen years;§—notwithstanding that Jair, your prince, had thirty sons, each mounted on a fine ass.

Then under the Phenicians (called by you Philistines) for forty years—until at last the Lord Adonai sent Samson, who tied three hundred foxes one to another by the tails, and slew a thousand Philistines with the jaw-bone of an ass, from which issued a fountain

* Judges, chap. iii.

† It was the same Eglon, king of Moab, that was so holily assassinated in the name of the Lord by the left-handed Ehud, who had sworn fidelity to him; and it was this Ehud who was so often invoked at Paris by the preachers of the League—"We want an Ehud! we want an Ehud!" They cried out until they found one.

‡ It was under this Jabin that good mistress Jael assassinated captain Sisera, by driving a nail through his head, which nail nailed him very fast to the ground. What a nail! and what a woman was this Jael! Judith alone can be compared to her. Indeed, Judith appeared much superior; for she cut off her lover's head in bed, after granting him her tender favours. Nothing can be more heroic, or more edifying.

§ Judges, chap. x.

of clear water;—which has been very well represented at the *Comédie Italienne*.

Here are, by your own confession, ninety-six years of captivity in the land of promise. Now it is very probable, that the Syrians, who were the factors for all nations, and navigated as far as the great ocean, bought some Jewish slaves, and took them to Cadiz, which they founded. You see that you are much more ancient than you think. It is indeed very likely that you inhabited Spain several centuries before the Romans, the Goths, the Vandals, and the Moors.

I am not only your friend, your brother, but moreover your genealogist.

I beg, gentlemen, that you will have the goodness to believe, that I never have believed, I do not believe, and I never will believe, that you are descended from those highway robbers whose ears and noses were cut off by order of king Actisanes, and whom, according to Diodorus of Sicily,* he sent into the desert between lake Sirbo and mount Sinai—a frightful desert where water and every other necessary of life are wanting. They made nets to catch quails, which fed them for a few weeks, during the passage of the birds.

Some of the learned have pretended, that this origin perfectly agrees with your history. You yourselves say, that you inhabited this desert, that there you wanted water, and lived on quails, which in reality abound there. Your accounts appear in the main to confirm that of Diodorus; but I believe only the Penta-teuch. The author does not say that you had your ears and noses cut off. As far as I remember, (for I have not Diodorus at hand) you lost only your noses. I do not now recollect where I read that your ears were of the party; it might be in some fragments of Manetho, cited by St. Ephrem.

In vain does the secretary, who has done me the honour of writing to me in your name, assure me that you stole to the amount of upwards of nine millions in gold, coined or carved, to go and set up your taber-

* Diodorus, book i. section 2, chap. xii.

nacle in the desert. I maintain, that you carried off nothing but what lawfully belonged to you, reckoning interest at forty per cent. which was the lawful rate.

Be this as it may, I certify that you are of very good nobility, and that you were lords of Her-shalaïm long before the houses of Suabia, Anhalt, Saxony, and Bavaria were heard of.

It may be, that the negroes of Angola, and those of Guinea, are much more ancient than you, and that they adored a beautiful serpent before the Egyptians knew their Isis, and you dwelt near lake Sirbo; but the negroes have not yet communicated their books to us.

THIRD LETTER.

On a few Crosses which befel God's People.

Far from accusing you, gentlemen, I have always regarded you with compassion. Permit me here to remind you of what I have read in the preliminary discourse to the Essay on the Spirit and Manners of Nations, and on general history. Here we find, that two hundred and thirty-nine thousand and twenty Jews were slaughtered by one another, from the worshipping of the golden calf to the taking of the ark by the Philistines—which cost fifty thousand and seventy Jews their lives, for having dared to look upon the ark, while they who had so insolently taken it in war, were acquitted with only the piles, and a fine of five golden mice, and five golden anuses.* You will not deny, that the slaughter of two hundred and thirty-nine thousand and twenty men, by your fellow-countrymen, without reckoning those whom you lost in al-

* Many theologians, who are the light of the world, have made commentaries on these gold mice, and these anuses. They have said that, the Philistine jewellers were very clever, that it is very difficult to carve an anus distinguishably in gold; and that, after all, an anus was a strange offering to the Lord. Other theologians have said, that it was for the inhabitants of the land from which Lot fled to present this offering; but they have, at last, abandoned the dispute. They are now occupied with convulsions, confession-billets, and extreme unction, administered at the point of the bayonet.

ternate war and slavery, must have been very detrimental to a rising colony.

How should I do otherwise than pity you? seeing that ten of your tribes were absolutely annihilated, or perhaps reduced to two hundred families, which, it is said, are to be found in China and Tartary

As for the two other tribes, I need not tell you what has happened to them. Suffer then my compassion, and do not impute to me ill-will.

FOURTH LETTER.

The Story of Micah.

Be not displeased at my asking from you some elucidation of a singular passage in your history, with which the ladies of Paris and people of fashion are but slightly acquainted.

Your Moses had not been dead quite thirty-eight years, when the mother of Micah, of the tribe of Benjamin, lost eleven hundred shekels, which are said to be equivalent to about six hundred livres of our money.* Her son returned them to her; the text does not inform us that he had not stolen them. The good Jewess immediately had them made into idols, and, according to custom, built them a little moveable chapel. A Levite of Bethlehem offered himself to perform the service for ten francs per annum, two tunics, and his victuals.

A tribe (afterwards called the tribe of Dan) searching that neighbourhood for something to plunder, passed near Micah's house. The men of Dan, knowing that Micah's mother had in her house a priest, a seer, a diviner, a rhoë, enquired of him if their excursion would be lucky—if they should find a good booty. The Levite promised them complete success. They began by robbing Micah's chapel, and took from her even her Levite. In vain did Micah and his mother cry out, "You are carrying away my gods! You are stealing my priest!" The robbers silenced them, and

* Judges, xvii.

went through devotion to put to fire and sword the little town of Dan, whose name this tribe adopted.

These freebooters were very grateful to Micah's gods, which had done them such good service, and placed them in a new tabernacle. The crowd of devotees increasing, a new priest was wanted, and one presented himself. Those who are not conversant with your history, will never divine who this chaplain was: but, gentlemen, *you* know that it was Moses' own grandson, one Jonathan, son of Gershom, son of Moses and Jethro's daughter.

You will agree with me, that the family of Moses was rather a singular one. His brother, at the age of one hundred, cast a golden calf and worshipped it; and his grandson turned chaplain to the idols for money. Does not this prove that your religion was not yet formed, and that you were a long time groping in the dark before you became perfect Israelites as you now are?

To my question you answer, that our Simon Peter Barjonas did as much; that he commenced his apostleship with denying his master. I have nothing to reply, except it be, that we must always distrust ourselves; and so great is my own self-distrust, that I conclude my letter with assuring you of my utmost indulgence, and requesting yours.

FIFTH LETTER.

Jewish Assassinations. Were the Jews Cannibals? Had their Mothers Commerce with Goats? Did their Fathers and Mothers immolate their Children? With a few other fine Actions of God's People.

Gentlemen,—I have been somewhat uncourteous to your secretary. It is against the rules of politeness to scold a servant in the presence of his master; but self-important ignorance is revolting in a christian who makes himself the servant of a Jew. I address myself directly to you, that I may have nothing more to do with your livery.

Jewish Calamities and great Assassinations.

Permit me, in the first place, to lament over all your calamities; for besides the two hundred and thirty-nine thousand and twenty Israelites killed by order of the Lord, I find that Jephtha's daughter was immolated by her father. Turn which way you please—twist the text as you will—dispute as you like against the fathers of the church: still he did to her as he had vowed; and he had vowed to cut his daughter's throat in thanksgiving to God. An excellent thanksgiving!

Yes, you have immolated human victims to the Lord; but be consoled; I have often told you that our Celts and all nations have done so formerly. Whatsays M de Bourgainville, who has returned from the island of Otaheite—that island of Cytheria, whose inhabitants, peaceful, mild, humane, and hospitable, offer to the traveller all that they possess—the most delicious of fruits—the most beautiful and most obliging of women? He tells us, that these people have their jugglers; and that these jugglers force them to sacrifice their children to apes, which they call their gods.

I find that seventy brothers of Abimelech were put to death on the same stone by this Abimelech, the son of Gideon and a prostitute. This son of Gideon was a bad kinsman, and this Gideon, the friend of God, was very debauched.

Your Levite going on his ass to Gibeah—the Gibeonites wanting to violate him—his poor wife violated in his stead, and dying in consequence—the civil war that ensued—all your tribe of Benjamin exterminated, saving only six hundred men—give me inexpressible pain.

You lost, all at once, five fine towns which the Lord destined for you, at the end of the lake of Sodom; and that for an inconceivable attempt upon the modesty of two angels. Really, this is much worse than what your mothers are accused of with the goats. How should I have other than the greatest pity for you, when I find murder and bestiality established against

your ancestors, who are our first spiritual fathers, and our near kinsmen according to the flesh? For after all, if you are descended from Shem, we are descended from Japhet. We are therefore evidently cousins,

Melchims, or Petty Kings of the Jews.

Your Samuel had good reason for not wishing you to have kings; for nearly all your kings were assassins, beginning with David, who assassinated Mephibosheth, son of Jonathan, his tender friend, whom he "loved with a love greater than that of women;" who assassinated Uriah, the husband of Bathsheba; who assassinated even the infants at the breast in the villages in alliance with his protector Achish; who on his death-bed commanded the assassination of his general Joab and his counsellor Shimei;—beginning, I say, with this David, and with Solomon, who assassinated his own brother Adonijah, clinging in vain to the altar, and ending with Herod 'the great,' who assassinated his brother-in-law, his wife, and all his kindred, including even his children.

I say nothing of the fourteen thousand little boys whom your petty king, this mighty Herod, had slaughtered in the village of Bethlehem. They are, as you know, buried at Cologne with our eleven thousand virgins; and one of these infants is still to be seen entire. You do not believe this authentic story, because it is not in your canon, and your Flavius Josephus makes no mention of it. I say nothing of the eleven hundred thousand men killed in the town of Jerusalem alone, during its siege by Titus.

In good faith, the cherished nation is a very unlucky one.

*Did the Jews eat Human Flesh?**

Among your calamities, which have so often made me shudder, I have always reckoned your misfortune in having eaten human flesh. You say that this happened only on great occasions; that it was not you

* See CANNIBALS.

whom the Lord invited to his table to eat the horse and the horseman, and that only the birds were the guests. I am willing to believe it.

Were the Jewish Ladies intimate with Goats?

You assert that your mothers had no commerce with he-goats, nor your fathers with she-goats. But pray, gentlemen, why are you the only people upon earth whose laws have forbidden such commerce? Would any legislator ever have thought of promulgating this extraordinary law, if the offence had not been common?

Did the Jews immolate Human Victims?

You venture to affirm that you have never immolated human victims to the Lord. What then was the murder of Jephtha's daughter, who was really immolated, as we have already shown from your own books?

How will you explain the anathema of the thirty-two virgins, that were the tribute of the Lord, when you took thirty-two thousand Midianitish virgins and sixty-one thousand asses? I will not here tell you, that according to this account there were not two asses for each virgin; but I will ask you, what was this tribute for the Lord? According to your book of Numbers, there were sixteen thousand girls for your soldiers, sixteen thousand for your priests; and on the soldiers' share there was levied a tribute of thirty-two virgins for the Lord. What became of them? You had no nuns. What was the Lord's share in all your wars, if it was not blood?

Did not the priest Samuel hack in pieces king Agag, whose life king Saul had saved? Did he not sacrifice him as the Lord's share?

Either renounce your sacred books, in which, according to the decision of the church, I firmly believe, or acknowledge that your forefathers offered up to God rivers of human blood, unparalleled by any people upon earth.

The Thirty-two Thousand Virgins, the Seventy-five Thousand Oxen, and the fruitful Desert of Midian.

Let your secretary no longer evade—no longer equivocate, respecting the carnage of the Midianites and their villages. I feel great concern that your butcher-priest Eleazar, general of the Jewish armies, should have found in that little miserable and desert country, seventy-five thousand oxen, sixty-one thousand asses, and six hundred and seventy-five thousand sheep, without reckoning the rams and the lambs.

Now, if you took thirty-two thousand infant girls, it is likely that there were as many infant boys, and as many fathers and mothers. These united amount to a hundred and twenty-eight thousand captives, in a desert where there is nothing to eat, nothing to drink but brackish water, and which is inhabited by some wandering Arabs, to the number of two or three thousand at most. You will besides observe, that in all the maps this frightful country is not more than eight leagues long, and as many broad.

But were it as large, as fertile, and as populous as Normandy or the Milanese, no matter. I hold to the text, which says the Lord's share was thirty-two maidens. Confound as you please Midian by the Red Sea with Midian by Sodom; I shall still demand an account of my thirty-two thousand virgins.

Have you employed your secretary to calculate how many oxen and maidens the fine country of Midian is capable of feeding?

Gentlemen, I inhabit a canton which is not the Land of Promise; but we have a lake much finer than that of Sodom, and our soil is moderately productive. Your secretary tells me that an acre of Midian will feed three oxen: I assure you, gentlemen, that with us an acre will feed but one. If your secretary will triple the revenue of my lands, I will give him good wages, and will not pay him with drafts on the receivers-general. He will not find a better situation in all the country of Midian than with me; but unfortu-

nately this man knows no more of oxen than he does of golden calves.

As for the thirty-two thousand maidenheads, I wish him joy of them. Our little country is as large as Midian. It contains about four thousand drunkards, a dozen attorneys, two men of sense, and four thousand persons of the fair sex, who are not uniformly pretty. These together make about eight thousand people, supposing that the registrar who gave me the account did not exaggerate by one-half, according to custom. Either your priests or ours would have considerable difficulty in finding thirty-two thousand virgins for their use in our country. This makes me very doubtful concerning the numberings of the Roman people, at the time when their empire extended just four leagues from the Tarpeian rock, and they carried a handful of hay at the end of a pole for a standard. Perhaps you do not know, that the Romans passed five hundred years in plundering their neighbours before they had any historian, and that their numberings, like their miracles, are very suspicious.

As for the sixty-one thousand asses, the fruits of your conquests in Midian—enough has been said of asses.

Jewish Children Immolated by their Mothers.

I tell you, that your fathers immolated their children; and I call your prophets to witness. Isaiah reproaches them with this cannibalish crime—"Slaying the children of the vallies under the clefts of the rocks."*

You will tell me, that it was not to the Lord Adonai that the women sacrificed the fruit of their womb—that it was to some other God. But what matters it whether you called him to whom you offered up your children Melkom or Sadaï, or Baal, or Adonai? That which it imports us to know is, that you were parricides. It was to strange idols, you say, that your fathers made their offerings. Well,—I pity you still more for being descended from fathers at once both

* Isaiah, lvii. 5.

parricidal and idolatrous. I condole with you, that your fathers were idolaters for forty successive years in the desert of Sinai, as is expressly said by Jeremiah, Amos, and St. Stephen.

You were idolaters in the time of the Judges; and the grandson of Moses was priest of the tribe of Dan, who, as we have seen, were all idolaters; for it is necessary to repeat—to insist; otherwise everything is forgotten.

You were idolaters under your kings; you were not faithful to one only God, until after Esdras had restored your books. Then it was that your uninterruptedly true worship began; and by an incomprehensible providence of the Supreme Being, you have been the most unfortunate of all men ever since you became the most faithful—under the kings of Syria, under the kings of Egypt, under Herod the Idumæan, under the Romans, under the Persians, under the Arabs, under the Turks—until now, that you do me the honour of writing to me, and I have the honour of answering you.

SIXTH LETTER.

Beauty of the Land of Promise.

Do not reproach me with not loving you. I love you so much, that I wish you were in Hershalaïm, instead of the Turks, who ravage your country; but who, nevertheless, have built a very fine mosque on the foundations of your temple, and on the platform constructed by your Herod.

You would cultivate that miserable desert, as you cultivated it formerly; you would carry earth to the bare tops of your arid mountains; you would not have much corn, but you would have very good vines, a few palms, olive trees, and pastures.

Though Palestine does not equal Provence, though Marseilles alone is superior to all Judea, which had not one sea-port; though the town of Aix is incomparably better situated than Jerusalem, you might nevertheless make of your territory almost as much

as the Provençals have made of theirs. You might execute, to your hearts' content, your own detestable psalmody in your own detestable jargon.

It is true, that you would have no horses; for there are not, nor have there ever been, about Hershalaïm, any but asses. You would often be in want of wheat, but you would obtain it from Egypt or Syria.

You might convey merchandise to Damascus and to Seïd on your asses—or indeed on camels—which you never knew anything of in the time of your Melchîm, and which would be a great assistance to you. In short, assiduous toil, to which man is born, would fertilise this land, which the lords of Constantinople and Asia Minor neglect.

This promised land of yours is very bad. Are you acquainted with St. Jerome? He was a christian priest, one of those men whose books you do not read. However, he lived a long time in your country; he was a very learned person—not indeed slow to anger, for when contradicted he was prodigal of abuse—but knowing your language better than you do, for he was a good grammarian. Study was his ruling passion; anger was only second to it. He had turned priest, together with his friend Vincent, on condition that they should never say mass nor vespers,* lest they should be too much interrupted in their studies; for being directors of women and girls, had they been moreover obliged to labour in the priestly office, they would not have had two hours in the day left for Greek, Chaldee, and the Jewish idiom. At last, in order to have more leisure, Jerome retired altogether, to live among the Jews at Bethlehem, as Huet bishop of Avranches retired to the jesuits at the house of the professed, rue St. Antoine, at Paris.

Jerome did, it is true, embroil himself with the bishop of Jerusalem, named John, with the celebrated priest Rufinus, and with several of his friends; for, as I have already said, Jerome was full of choler and self-love, and St. Augustin charges him with levity

* That is, that they should perform no sacerdotal functions.

and fickleness :* but he was not the less holy he was not the less learned, nor is his testimony the less to be received, concerning the nature of the wretched country in which his ardour for study and his melancholy confined him.

Be so obliging as to read his letter to Dardanus, written in the year 414 of our era, which, according to the Jewish reckoning, is the year of the world 4000, or 4001, or 4003, or 4004, as you please.

“ I beg of those who assert, that the Jewish people, after the coming out of Egypt, took possession of this country, which to us, by the passion and resurrection of Our Saviour, has become truly a land of promise—I beg of them, I say, to shew us what this people possessed. Their whole dominions extended only from Dan to Bersheba, about one hundred and sixty miles in length. The Holy Scriptures give no more to David and to Solomon. . . . I am ashamed to say what is the breadth of the land of promise, and I fear that the pagans will thence take occasion to blaspheme. It is but forty-six miles from Joppa to our little town of Bethlehem, beyond which all is a frightful desert.”

Read also the letter to one of his devotees, in which he says, that from Jerusalem to Bethlehem there is nothing but pebbles, and no water to drink ; but that further on, towards the Jordan, you find very good valleys in that country full of bare mountains. This really was a land of milk and honey, in comparison with the abominable desert of Horeb and Sinai, from which you originally came. The sorry province of Champagne is the land of promise, in relation to some parts of the Landes of Bourdeaux, the banks of the Aar are the land of promise, when compared with the little Swiss cantons; all Palestine is very

* Jerome, in return, writes to Augustin, in his hundred and fourteenth letter, thus—“ I have not criticised your works, for I have never read them; but, if I would criticise them, I could show you that you do not understand the Greek fathers You do not even know what you are talking about.”

bad land, in comparison with Egypt which you say you came out of as thieves; but it is a delightful country, if you compare it with the deserts of Jerusalem, Sodom, Horeb, Sināi, Kadesh, &c.

Go back to Judea as soon as you can. I ask of you only two or three Hebrew families, in order to establish a little necessary trade at Mount Krapak, where I reside. For, if you are (like us) very ridiculous theologians, you are very intelligent buyers and sellers, which we are not.

SEVENTH LETTER.

Charity which God's People and the Christians should entertain for each other.

My tenderness for you has only a few words more to say. We have been accustomed for ages to hang you up between two dogs; we have repeatedly driven you away through avarice; we have recalled you through avarice and stupidity; we still, in more towns than one, make you pay for liberty to breathe the air; we have, in more kingdoms than one, sacrificed you to God; we have burned you as holocausts—for I will not follow your example, and dissemble that we have offered up sacrifices of human blood; all the difference is, that our priests, content with applying your money to their own use, have had you burned by laymen; while your priests always immolated the human victims with their own sacred hands. You were monsters of cruelty and fanaticism in Palestine; we have been so in Europe: my friends, let all this be forgotten.

Would you live in peace? Imitate the Banians and the Guebres. They are much more ancient than you are; they are dispersed like you; they are, like you, without a country. The Guebres in particular, who are the ancient Persians, are slaves like you, after being for a long while masters. They say not a word. Follow their example. You are calculating animals—try to be thinking ones.

JOB.

Good day, friend Job! thou art one of the most ancient originals of which books make mention; thou wast not a Jew; we know that the book which bears thy name is more ancient than the Pentateuch. If the Hebrews, who translated it from the Arabic, made use of the word Jehovah to signify God, they borrowed it from the Phenicians and Egyptians, of which men of learning are assured. The word Satan was not Hebrew; it was Chaldean, as is well known.

Thou dwelledst on the confines of Chaldea. Commentators, worthy of their profession, pretend that thou didst believe in the resurrection, because, being prostrate on thy dunghill, thou hast said in thy nineteenth chapter, that thou wouldst one day rise up from it. A patient who wishes his cure is not anxious for resurrection in lieu of it; but I would speak to thee of other things.

Confess that thou wast a great babbler; but thy friends were much greater. It is said that thou possessedst seven thousand sheep, three thousand camels, one thousand cows, and five hundred she-asses. I will reckon up their value:—

	Livres.
Seven thousand sheep, at three livres ten sous a-piece, are - - - - -	22,500
I value the three thousand camels at fifty crowns a-piece - - - - -	450,000
A thousand cows, one with the other, cannot be valued at less than - - - - -	80,000
And five hundred she-asses, at twenty francs an ass - - - - -	10,000
	<hr/>
The whole amounts to - - -	562,500
without reckoning thy furniture, rings, and jewels.	

I have been much richer than thou; and though I have lost a great part of my property and am ill, like

thyself I have not murmured against God, as thy friends seem to reproach thee with sometimes doing.

I am not at all pleased with Satan, who, to induce thee to sin, and to make thee forget God, demanded permission to take away all thy property and to give thee the itch. It is in this state that men always have recourse to divinity. They are prosperous people who forget God. Satan knew not enough of the world at that time; he has improved himself since; and when he would be sure of any one, he makes him a farmer-general, or something better if possible, as our friend Pope has clearly shown in his history of the knight Sir Balaam.

Thy wife was an impertinent, but thy pretended friends Eliphaz the Temanite, Bildad the Shuie, and Zophar the Naamathite, were much more insupportable. They exhorted thee to patience in a manner that would have roused the mildest of men; they made thee long sermons more tiresome than those preached by the knave V——e at Amsterdam, and by so many other people.

It is true that thou didst not know what thou saidst, when exclaiming—"My God, am I a sea or a whale, to be shut up by thee as in a prison?" But thy friends knew no more when they answered thee, "that the morn cannot become fresh without dew, and that the grass of the field cannot grow without water." Nothing is less consolatory than this axiom.

Zophar of Naamath reproacheth thee with being a prater; but none of these good friends lent thee a crown. I would not have treated thee thus. Nothing is more common than people who advise; nothing more rare than those who assist. Friends are not worth much, from whom we cannot procure a drop of broth if we are in misery. I imagine, that when God gave thee thy riches and health, these eloquent personages dared not present themselves before thee, as the comforters of Job have become a proverb.

God was displeased with them and told them sharply, in chap. xlii. that they were tiresome and imprudent;

and he condemned them to a fine of seven bullocks and seven rams, for having talked nonsense. I would have condemned them for not having assisted their friend.

I pray thee, tell me if it is true, that thou livedst a hundred and forty years after this adventure. I like to learn that honest people live long; but men of the present day must be great rogues, since their lives are so comparatively short.

As to the rest, the book of Job is one of the most precious of antiquity. It is evident, that this book is the work of an Arab who lived before the time in which we place Moses. It is said that Eliphaz, one of the interlocutors, is of Teman, which was an ancient city of Arabia. Bildad was of Shua, another town of Arabia. Zophar was of Naamath, a still more eastern country of Arabia.

But what is more remarkable, and which shows that this fable cannot be that of a Jew, is, that three constellations are spoken of, which we now call Arcturus, Orion, and the Pleiades. The Hebrews never had the least knowledge of astronomy; they had not even a word to express this science; all that regards the mental science was unknown to them, inclusive even of the term geometry.

The Arabs, on the contrary, living in tents, and being continually led to observe the stars, were perhaps the first who regulated their years by the inspection of the heavens.

A more important observation is, that one single God alone is spoken of in this book. It is an absurd error to imagine that the Jews were the only people who recognised a sole God; it was the doctrine of almost all the east, and the Jews were only plagiarists in that as in everything else.

In the thirty-eighth chapter, God himself speaks to Job from the midst of a whirlwind, which has been since imitated in Genesis. We cannot too often repeat, that the Jewish books are very modern. Ignorance and fanaticism exclaim, that the Pentateuch is

the most ancient book in the world. It is evident, that those of Sanchoniathon, and those of Thaut, eight hundred years anterior to those of Sanchoniathon; those of the first Zerdusht, the Shasta, the Vedam of the Indians, which we still possess; the five kings of China; and finally, the book of Job; are of a much remoter antiquity than any Jewish book. It is demonstrated, that this little people could only have annals whilst they had a stable government; that they only had this government under their kings; that its jargon was only formed, in the course of time, of a mixture of Phenician and Arabic. There are incontestable proofs that the Phenicians cultivated letters a long time before them. Their profession was pillage and brokerage; they were writers only by chance. We have lost the books of the Egyptians and Phenicians, the Chinese, Bramins, and Guebres; the Jews have preserved theirs. All these monuments are curious, but they are monuments of human imagination alone, in which not a single truth, either physical or historical, is to be learned. There is not at present any little physical treatise that would not be more useful than all the books of antiquity.

The good Calmet, or Dom Calmet (for the Benedictines like us to give them their Dom) that simple compiler of so many reveries and imbecilities; that man whom simplicity has rendered so useful to whoever would laugh at antique nonsense, faithfully relates the opinion of those who would discover the malady with which Job was attacked, as if Job was a real personage. He does not hesitate in saying, that Job had the small-pox, and heaps passage upon passage, as usual, to prove that which is not. He had not read the history of the small-pox by Astruc; for Astruc being neither a father of the church nor a doctor of Salamanca, but a very learned physician, the good man Calmet knew not that he existed. Monkish compilers are poor creatures!

BY AN INVALID, at the Baths of Aix-la-Chapelle.

JOSEPH.

THE history of Joseph, considering it merely as an object of curiosity and literature, is one of the most precious monuments of antiquity which has reached us. It appears to be the model of all the oriental writers; it is more affecting than the *Odyssey* of Homer; for a hero who pardons is more touching than one who revenges.

We regard the Arabs as the first authors of these ingenious fictions, which have passed into all languages; but I see among them no adventures comparable to those of Joseph. Almost all in it is wonderful, and the termination exacts tears of tenderness. He was a young man of sixteen years of age, of whom his brothers were jealous; he is sold by them to a caravan of Ismaelite merchants, conducted into Egypt, and bought by an eunuch of the king. This eunuch had a wife, which is not at all extraordinary; the *kislar aga*, a perfect eunuch, has a *seraglio* at this day at Constantinople; they left him some of his senses, and nature in consequence is not altogether extinguished. No matter; the wife of Potiphar falls in love with the young Joseph, who, faithful to his master and benefactor, rejects the advances of this woman. She is irritated at it, and accuses Joseph of attempting to seduce her. Such is the history of Hippolytus and Phedra, of Bellerophon and Zenobeia, of Hebrus and Damasippa, of Myrtilus and Hippodamia, &c.

It is difficult to know which is the original of all these histories; but among the ancient Arabian authors there is a tract relating to the adventure of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, which is very ingenious. The author supposes that Potiphar, uncertain between the assertions of his wife and Joseph, regarded not Joseph's tunic, which his wife had torn as a proof of the young man's outrage. There was a child in a cradle in his wife's chamber; and Joseph said that she seized and tore his tunic in the presence of this infant. Potiphar consulted the child, whose mind was very advanced for its age.

The child said to Potiphar,—“ See if the tunic is torn behind or before; if before, it is a proof that Joseph would embrace your wife by force, and that she defended herself; if behind, it is a proof that your wife detained Joseph.” Potiphar, thanks to the genius of the child, recognised the innocence of his slave. It is thus that this adventure is related in the Koran, after the Arabian author. It informs us not to whom the infant belonged, who judged with so much wit. If it was not a son of Potiphar, Joseph was not the first whom this woman had seduced.

However that may be, according to Genesis, Joseph is put in prison, where he finds himself in company with the butler and baker of the king of Egypt. These two prisoners of state both dreamed one night. Joseph explains their dreams; he predicted that in three days the butler would be received again into favour, and that the baker would be hanged; which failed not to happen.

Two years afterwards the king of Egypt also dreams, and his butler tells him that there is a young Jew in prison who is the first man in the world for the interpretation of dreams. The king causes the young man to be brought to him, who foretels seven years of abundance and seven of sterility.

Let us here interrupt the thread of the history to remark, of what prodigious antiquity is the interpretation of dreams. Jacob saw in a dream the mysterious ladder at the top of which was God himself. In a dream he learned a method of multiplying his flocks, a method which never succeeded with any but himself. Joseph himself had learned by a dream that he should one day govern his brethren. Abimelech, a long time before, had been warned in a dream, that Sarah was the wife of Abraham.*

To return to Joseph. After explaining the dream of Pharaoh, he was made first minister on the spot. We doubt if at present a king could be found, even in Asia, who would bestow such an office in return for an interpreted dream. Pharaoh espoused Joseph to a

* See Dreams, section iii. of the article *Somnambulism*.

daughter of Potiphar. It is said that this Potiphar was high priest of Heliopolis; he was not therefore the eunuch his first master; or if it was the latter, he had another title besides that of high priest; and his wife had been a mother more than once.

However, the famine happened, as Joseph foretold; and Joseph, to merit the good graces of his king, forced all the people to sell their land to Pharaoh, and all the nation became slaves to procure corn. This is apparently the origin of despotic power. It must be confessed, that never king made a better bargain; but the people also should no less bless the prime minister.

Finally, the father and brothers of Joseph had also need of corn, for "the famine was sore in all lands." It is scarcely necessary to relate here how Joseph received his brethren; how he pardoned and enriched them. In this history is found all that constitutes an interesting epic poem—exposition, plot, recognition, adventures, and the marvellous; nothing is more strongly marked with the stamp of oriental genius.

What the good man Jacob, the father of Joseph, answered to Pharaoh, ought to strike all those who know how to read—"How old art thou," said the king to him.—"The days of the years of my pilgrimage," said the old man, "are an hundred and thirty years; few and evil have the days of the years of my life been."

JUDEA.

I NEVER was in Judea, thank God! and I never will go there. I have met with men of all nations who have returned from it, and they have all of them told me, that the situation of Jerusalem is horrible; that all the land round it is stony; that the mountains are bare; that the famous river Jordan is not more than forty feet wide; that the only good spot in the country is Jericho; in short, they all spoke of it as St. Jerome did, who resided a long time in Bethlehem and describes the country as the refuse and rubbish of nature. He says, that in summer the inhabitants cannot get

even water to drink. This country however must have appeared to the Jews luxuriant and delightful, in comparison with the deserts in which they originated. Were the wretched inhabitants of the Landes to quit them for some of the mountains of Lampourdan, how would they exult and delight in the change; and how would they hope eventually to penetrate into the fine and fruitful districts of Languedoc, which would be to them the land of promise!

Such is precisely the history of the Jews. Jericho and Jerusalem are Toulouse and Montpelier, and the desert of Sinai is the country between Bourdeaux and Bayonne.

But if the God who conducted the Israelites wished to bestow upon them a pleasant and fruitful land; if these wretched people had in fact dwelt in Egypt, why did he not permit them to remain in Egypt? To this we are answered only in the usual language of theology.

Judea, it is said, was the promised land. God said to Abraham—"I will give thee all the country between the river of Egypt and the Euphrates."*

Alas! my friends, you never have had possession of those fertile banks of the Euphrates and the Nile. You have only been duped and made fools of. You have almost always been slaves. To promise and to perform, my poor unfortunate fellows, are different things. There was an old rabbi once among you, who, when reading your shrewd and sagacious prophecies, announcing for you a land of milk and honey, remarked that you had been promised more butter than bread. Be assured, that were the great Turk this very day to offer me the lordship (seigneurie) of Jerusalem, I would positively decline it.

Frederick III. when he saw this detestable country, said, loudly enough to be distinctly heard, that Moses must have been very ill-advised to conduct his tribe of lepers to such a place as that; why, says Frederick, did he not go to Naples? Adieu, my dear Jews; I am

* Genesis xv. 18.

extremely sorry that the promised land is the lost land.
By the Baron de BROUKANS.*

JULIAN.

SECTION I.

JUSTICE is often done at last. Two or three authors, either venal or fanatical, eulogize the cruel and effeminate Constantine as if he had been a god; and treat as an absolute miscreant the just, the wise, and the great Julian. All other authors, copying from these, repeat both the flattery and the calumny. They become almost an article of faith. At length the age of sound criticism arrives; and at the end of fourteen hundred years, enlightened men revise the cause which had been decided by ignorance. In Constantine we see a man of successful ambition, internally scoffing at things divine as well as human. He has the insolence to pretend that God sent him a standard in the air to assure him of victory. He imbrues himself in the blood of all his relations, and is lulled to sleep in all the effeminacy of luxury; but he is a christian—he is canonized.

Julian is sober, chaste, disinterested, brave, and clement; but he is not a christian—he has long been considered a monster.

At the present day, after having compared facts, memorials, and records, the writings of Julian and those of his enemies, we are compelled to acknowledge, that if he was not partial to christianity, he was somewhat excusable in hating a sect stained with the blood of all his family; and that although he had been persecuted, imprisoned, exiled, and threatened with death by the Galileans, under the reign of the cruel and sanguinary Constantius, he never persecuted them, but on the contrary even pardoned ten christian soldiers who had conspired against his life. His letters

* It is perfectly true that the baron de Bronkans, whose name the author here borrows, had resided a long time in Palestine, and that he communicated all these details to M. de Voltaire, in a conversation with him at Mount Pleasant (Delices) in my presence.
—Note by WAGNIERE.

are read and admired: "The Galileans," says he, "under my predecessor, suffered exile and imprisonment; and those who, according to the change of circumstances, were called heretics, were reciprocally massacred in their turn. I have called home their exiles, I have liberated their prisoners, I have restored their property to those who were proscribed, and have compelled them to live in peace; but such is the restless rage of these Galileans, that they deplore their inability any longer to devour one another." What a letter! What a sentence, dictated by philosophy, against persecuting fanaticism! Ten christians conspiring against his life, he detects and he pardons them. How extraordinary a man! What dastardly fanatics must those be who attempt to throw disgrace on his memory!

In short, on investigating facts with impartiality, we are obliged to admit, that Julian possessed all the qualities of Trajan, with the exception of that depraved taste too long pardoned to the Greeks and Romans; all the virtues of Cato, without either his obstinacy or ill-humour; everything that deserved admiration in Julius Cæsar, and none of his vices. He possessed the continence of Scipio. Finally, he was in all respects equal to Marcus Aurelius, who was reputed the first of men.

There are none who will now venture to repeat, after that slanderer Theodoret, that, in order to propitiate the gods, he sacrificed a woman in the temple of Carres; none who will repeat any longer the story of the death-scene in which he is represented as throwing drops of blood from his hand towards heaven, calling out to Jesus Christ, "Galilean, thou hast conquered;" as if he had fought against Jesus in making war upon the Persians; as if this philosopher, who died with such perfect resignation, had with alarm and despair recognized Jesus; as if he had believed, that Jesus was in the air, and that the air was heaven! These ridiculous absurdities of men denominated fathers of the church, are happily no longer current and respected.

Still however the effect of ridicule was, it seems, to be tried against him, as it was by the light and giddy citizens of Antioch. He is reproached for his ill-combed beard and the manner of his walk. But you, Mr. abbé de la Bletterie, never saw him walk; you have however read his letters and his laws, the monuments of his virtues. Of what consequence was it, comparatively, that he had a slovenly beard and an abrupt headlong walk, while his heart was full of magnanimity and all his steps tended to virtue!

One important fact remains to be examined at the present day. Julian is reproached with attempting to falsify the prophecy of Jesus Christ, by re-building the temple of Jerusalem. Fires, it is asserted, came out of the earth and prevented the continuance of the work. It is said that this was a miracle, and that this miracle did not convert Julian, nor Alypius the superintendant of the enterprise, nor any individual of the imperial court; and upon this subject the abbé de la Bletterie thus expresses himself:—"The emperor and the philosophers of his court undoubtedly employed all their knowledge of natural philosophy, to deprive the Deity of the honour of so striking and impressive a prodigy. Nature was always the favourite resource of unbelievers; but she serves the cause of religion so very seasonably, that they might surely suspect some collusion between them."

In the first place, it is not true that it is said in the gospel, that the Jewish temple should not be re-built. The gospel of Matthew, which was evidently written after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, prophesies certainly, that not one stone should remain upon another of the temple of the Idumæan Herod; but an evangelist says that it shall never be re-built. It is perfectly false, that not one stone remained upon another when Titus demolished it. All its foundations remained together, with one entire wall and the tower Antonia.

Secondly, of what consequence could it be to the Supreme Being, whether there was a Jewish temple,

a magazine, or a mosque, on the spot where the Jews were in the habit of slaughtering bullocks and cows?

Thirdly, it is not ascertained, whether it was from within the circuit of the walls of the city, or from within that of the temple, that those fires proceeded which burnt the workmen. But it is not very obvious why the Jews should burn the workmen of the emperor Julian, and not those of the caliph Omar, who long afterwards built a mosque upon the ruins of the temple; or those of the great Saladin, who rebuilt the same mosque. Had Jesus any particular predilection for the mosques of the mussulmen?

Fourthly, Jesus, notwithstanding his having predicted that there would not remain one stone upon another in Jerusalem, did not prevent the re-building of that city.

Fifthly, Jesus predicted many things which God permitted never to come to pass. He predicted the end of the world, and his coming in the clouds with great power and majesty, before or about the end of the then existing generation. The world however has lasted to the present moment, and in all probability will last much longer.

Sixthly, if Julian had written an account of this miracle, I should say that he had been imposed upon by a false and ridiculous report; I should think that the christians, his enemies, employed every artifice to oppose his enterprise, that they themselves killed the workmen, and excited and promoted the belief of their being destroyed by miracle; but Julian does not say a single word on the subject. The war against the Persians at that time fully occupied his attention; he put off the re-building of the temple to some other time, and he died before he was able to commence the building.

Seventhly, this prodigy is related in Ammianus Marcellinus, who was a pagan. It is very possible that it may have been an interpolation of the christians. They have been charged with committing numberless others which have been clearly proved.

But it is not the less probable, that at a time when nothing was spoken of but prodigies and stories of witchcraft, Ammianus Marcellinus may have reported this fable on the faith of some credulous narrator. From Titus Livius to De Thou, inclusively, all historians have been infected with prodigies.

Eighthly, contemporary authors relate, that at the same period there was in Syria a great convulsion of the earth, which in many places broke out in conflagrations and swallowed up many cities. There was therefore more miracle.

Ninthly, if Jesus performed miracles, would it be in order to prevent the re-building of a temple in which he had himself sacrificed, and in which he was circumcised? Or would he not rather perform miracles to convert to christianity the various nations who at present ridicule it? Or rather still, to render more humane, more kind, christians themselves, who, from Arius and Athanasius down to Roland and the Paladins of the Cevennes, have shed torrents of human blood, and conducted themselves nearly as might be expected from cannibals?

Hence I conclude, that 'nature' is not in 'collusion,' as La Bletterie expresses it, with christianity, but that La Bletterie is in collusion with some old women's stories, one of those persons, as Julian phrases it, "*quibus cum stolidis aniculis negotium erat.*"

La Bletterie, after having done justice to some of Julian's virtues, yet concludes the history of that great man by observing, that his death was the effect of 'divine vengeance.' If that be the case, all the heroes who have died young, from Alexander to Gustavus Adolphus, have, we must infer, been punished by God. Julian died the noblest of deaths, in the pursuit of his enemies, after many victories. Jovian, who succeeded him, reigned a much shorter time than he did, and reigned in disgrace. I see no divine vengeance in the matter; and I see in La Bletterie himself nothing more than a disingenuous, dishonest declaimer. But where are the men to be found who will dare to speak out?

Libanius the stoic was one of these extraordinary men.

He celebrated the brave and clement Julian in the presence of Theodosius, the wholesale murderer of the Theodosians; but Le Beau and La Bletterie fear to praise him in the hearing of their own puny parish officers.

SECTION II.

Let any one suppose for a moment, that Julian had abandoned false gods for christianity; then examine him as a man, a philosopher, and an emperor; and let the examiner then point out the man whom he will venture to prefer to him. If he had lived only ten years longer, there is great probability that he would have given a different form to Europe from that which it bears at present.

The christian religion depended upon his life: the efforts which he made for its destruction rendered his name execrable to the nations who have embraced it. The christian priests, who were his contemporaries, accused him of almost every crime, because he had committed what in their eyes was the greatest of all,—he had lowered and humiliated them. It is not long since his name was never quoted without the epithet of apostate attached to it; and it is perhaps one of the greatest achievements of reason that he has at length ceased to be mentioned under so opprobrious a designation. Who would imagine, that in one of the *Mercuries* of Paris, for the year 1745, the author sharply rebukes a certain writer for failing in the common courtesies of life, by calling this emperor Julian ‘the apostate?’ Not more than a hundred years ago, the man that would not have treated him as an apostate, would himself have been treated as an atheist.

What is very singular, and at the same time perfectly true is, that if you put out of consideration the various disputes between pagans and christians, in which this emperor was engaged; if you follow him neither to the christian churches nor idolatrous temples, but observe him attentively in his own household, in camp, in battle, in his manners, his conduct, and his writings, you will find him in every respect equal to Marcus Aurelius.

Thus, the man who has been described as so abomi-

nable and execrable, is perhaps the first, or at least the second of mankind. Always sober, always temperate, indulging in no licentious pleasures, sleeping on a mere bear's skin, devoting only a few hours, and even those with regret to sleep; dividing his time between study and business, generous, susceptible of friendship, and an enemy to all pomp, and pride, and ostentation. Had he been merely a private individual, he must have extorted universal admiration.

If we consider him in his military character, we see him constantly at the head of his troops, establishing or restoring discipline without rigour, beloved by his soldiers and at the same time restraining their excesses, conducting his armies almost always on foot, and showing them an example of enduring every species of hardship, ever victorious in all his expeditions even to the last moment of his life, and at length dying at the glorious crisis when the Persians were routed. His death was that of a hero, and his last words were those of a philosopher: "I submit," says he, "willingly to the eternal decrees of heaven, convinced that he who is captivated with life, when his last hour is arrived, is more weak and pusillanimous than he who would rush to voluntary death when it is his duty still to live." He converses to the last moment on the immortality of the soul; manifests no regrets, shows no weakness, and speaks only of his submission to the decrees of providence. Let it be remembered that this is the death of an emperor at the age of thirty-two, and let it be then decided whether his memory should be insulted.

As an emperor, we see him refusing the title of 'Dominus,' which Constantine affected; relieving his people from difficulties, diminishing taxes, encouraging the arts; reducing to the moderate amount of seventy ounces each those presents in crowns of gold, which had before been exacted from every city to the amount of three or four hundred marks; promoting the strict and general observance of the laws; restraining both his officers and ministers from oppression, and preventing as much as possible all corruption.

Ten christian soldiers conspire to assassinate him; they are discovered, and Julian pardons them. The people of Antioch, who united insolence to voluptuousness, offer him an insult: he revenges himself only like a man of sense; and while he might have made them feel the weight of imperial power, he merely makes them feel the superiority of his mind. Compare with this conduct the executions which Theodosius (who was very near being made a saint) exhibited in Antioch, and the ever dreadful and memorable slaughter of all the inhabitants of Thessalonica, for an offence of a somewhat similar description; and then decide between these two celebrated characters.

Certain writers, called fathers of the church, Gregory of Nazianzen, and Theodoret, thought it incumbent on them to calumniate him, because he had abandoned the christian religion. They did not consider that it was the triumph of that religion to prevail over so great a man, and even over a sage, after having resisted tyrants. One of them says, that he took a barbarous vengeance on Antioch and filled it with blood. How could a fact so public and atrocious, escape the knowledge of all other historians? It is perfectly known that he shed no blood at Antioch but that of the victims sacrificed in the regular services of religion. Another ventures to assert, that before his death he threw some of his own blood towards heaven, and exclaimed, "Galilean, thou hast conquered." How could a tale so insipid and so improbable, even for a moment obtain credit. Was it against the christians that he was then combating? and is such an act, are such expressions, in the slightest degree characteristic of the man?

Minds of a somewhat superior order to those of Julian's detractors, may perhaps inquire, how it could occur, that a statesman like him, a man of so much intellect, a genuine philosopher, could quit the christian religion, in which he was educated, for paganism, of which, it is almost impossible not to suppose, he must have felt the folly and ridicule. It might be inferred, that if Julian yielded too much to the sugges-

tions of his reason against the mysteries of the christian religion; he ought, at least in all consistency, to have yielded more readily to the dictates of the same reason, when more correctly and decidedly condemning the fables of paganism.

Perhaps, by attending a little to the progress of his life, and the nature of his character, we may discover what it was that inspired him with so strong an aversion to christianity. The emperor Constantine, his great uncle, who had placed the new religion on the throne, was stained by the murder of his wife, his son, his brother-in-law, his nephew, and his father-in-law. The three children of Constantine began their bloody and baleful reign, with murdering their uncle and their cousins. From that time followed a series of civil wars and murders. The father, the brother, and all the relations of Julian, and even Julian himself, were marked down for destruction by Constantius, his uncle. He escaped this general massacre, but the first years of his life were passed in exile, and he at last owed the preservation of his life, his fortune, and the title of Cæsar, only to Eusebia, the wife of his uncle Constantius, who, after having had the cruelty to proscribe his infancy, had the imprudence to appoint him Cæsar, and the still further and greater imprudence of then persecuting him.

He was, in the first instance, a witness of the insolence with which a certain bishop treated his benefactress Eusebia. He was called Leontius, and was bishop of Tripoli. He sent information to the empress "that he would not visit her unless she would consent to receive him in a manner corresponding to his episcopal dignity; that is, that she should advance to receive him at the door, that she should receive his benediction in a bending attitude, and that she should remain standing until he granted her permission to be seated." The pagan pontiffs were not in the habit of treating princesses precisely in this manner, and such brutal arrogance could not but make a deep impression on the mind of a young man attached at once to philosophy and simplicity.

If he saw that he was in a christian family, he saw, at the same time, that he was in a family rendered distinguished by parricides; if he looked at the court bishops, he perceived that they were at once audacious and intriguing, and that all anathematized each other in turn. The hostile parties of Arius and Athanasius filled the empire with confusion and carnage; the pagans, on the contrary, never had any religious quarrels. It is natural therefore that Julian, who had been educated, let it be remembered, by philosophic pagans, should have strengthened by their discourses the aversion he must necessarily have felt in his heart for the christian religion. It is not more extraordinary to see Julian quit christianity for false gods, than to see Constantine quit false gods for christianity. It is highly probable, that both changed from motives of state policy, and that this policy was mixed up in the mind of Julian with the stern loftiness of a stoic soul.

The pagan priests had no dogmas: they did not compel men to believe that which was incredible; they required nothing but sacrifices, and even sacrifices were not enjoined under rigorous penalties; they did not set themselves up as the first order in the state, did not form a state within a state, and did not mix in affairs of government. These might well be considered motives to induce a man of Julian's character to declare himself on their side; and if he had piqued himself upon being nothing besides a stoic, he would have had against him the priests of both religions, and all the fanatics of each. The common people would not at that time have endured a prince who was content simply with the pure worship of a pure divinity and the strict observance of justice. It was necessary to side with one of the opposing parties. We must therefore believe, that Julian submitted to the pagan ceremonies, as the majority of princes and great men attend the forms of worship in the public temples. They are led thither by the people themselves, and are often obliged to appear what in fact they are not; and to be in public the first and greatest slaves of

credulity. The Turkish sultan must bless the name of Omar. The Persian sophi must bless the name of Ali. Marcus Aurelius himself was initiated in the mysteries of Eleusis.

We ought not therefore to be surprised, that Julian should have debased his reason by condescending to the forms and usages of superstition; but it is impossible not to feel indignant against Theodoret, as the only historian who relates that he sacrificed a woman in the temple of the moon at Carres. This infamous story must be classed with the absurd tale of Ammianus, that the genius of the empire appeared to Julian before his death, and with the other equally ridiculous one, that when Julian attempted to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem, there came globes of fire out of the earth, and consumed all the works and workmen without distinction.

Iliacos intra muros peccatur et extrâ.

HORACE, book i. ep. ii. 16.

Both christians and pagans equally circulated fables concerning Julian; but the fables of the christians, who were his enemies, were filled with calumny. Who could ever be induced to believe, that a philosopher sacrificed a woman to the moon, and tore out her entrails with his own hands? Is such atrocity compatible with the character of a rigid stoic?

He never put any christians to death: he granted them no favours, but he never persecuted them. He permitted them, like a just sovereign, to keep their own property; and he wrote in opposition to them like a philosopher. He forbade their teaching in the schools the profane authors, whom they endeavoured to decry—this was not persecuting them; and he prevented them from tearing one another to pieces in their outrageous hatred and quarrels—this was protecting them. They had in fact therefore nothing with which they could reproach him, but with having abandoned them, and with not being of their opinion. They found means however of rendering execrable to posterity a prince, who, but for his change of religion,

would have been admired and beloved by all the world.

Although we have already treated of Julian, under the article APOSTATE; although, following the example of every sage, we have deplored the dreadful calamity he experienced in not being a christian, and have done justice elsewhere to his various excellences, we must nevertheless say something more upon the subject.

We do this in consequence of an imposture equally absurd and atrocious, which we casually met with in one of those petty dictionaries with which France is now inundated, and which unfortunately are so easily compiled. This dictionary of theology which I am now alluding to, proceeds from an ex-jesuit called Paulian, who repeats the story, so discredited and absurd, that the emperor Julian, after being mortally wounded in a battle with the Persians, threw some of his blood towards heaven, exclaiming, "Galilean, thou hast conquered;"—a fable which destroys itself, as Julian was conqueror in the battle, and Jesus Christ certainly was not the God of the Persians.

Paulian, notwithstanding, dares to assert, that the fact is incontestable. And upon what ground does he assert it? Upon the ground of its being related by Theodoret, the author of so many distinguished lies; and even this notorious writer himself relates it only as a vague report; he uses the expression, "It is said."* This story is worthy of the calumniators who stated, that Julian had sacrificed a woman to the moon, and that after his death a large chest was found among his moveables filled with human heads.

This is not the only falsehood and calumny with which this ex-jesuit Paulian is chargeable. If these contemptible wretches knew what injury they did to our holy religion, by endeavouring to support it by imposture, and by the abominable abuse with which they assail the most respectable characters, they would be less audacious and infuriated. They care not how-

* Theodoret, chap. xxv.

ever for supporting religion; what they want is, to gain money by their libels; and despairing of being read by persons of sense, and taste, and fashion, they go on gathering and compiling theological trash, in hopes that their productions will be adopted in the seminaries.*

We sincerely ask pardon of our well-informed and respectable readers, for introducing such names as those of the ex-jesuits Paulian, Nonotte, and Patouillet; but after having trampled to death serpents, we shall probably be excused for crushing fleas.†

* See the article PHILOSOPHY.

† M. de Voltaire is the first writer who has dared to do complete justice to this prince, who was certainly one of the most extraordinary men that ever filled a throne. Being appointed in early life, and almost immediately upon quitting the schools of the philosophers, to the government of the Gauls, he protected them with equal courage from the inroads of the Germans, and from the peculations and extortions of the imperial collectors, who were ravaging the country in the name of Constantius. His private life was that of a sage; an able and active commander during the campaign, in winter he became an assiduous, just, and humane magistrate. Constantius endeavoured to recal him, but the army revolted, and compelled him to accept the title of Augustus. The details of this event transmitted to us by history, exhibit Julian as equally free from reproach at this crisis, as in the other circumstances of his life. He was obliged to decide between certain death and war against a tyrant polluted by blood and rapine, debased by superstition and effeminacy, and who, it was evident, had resolved on his destruction. His right was the same as Constantine's, who had indeed by no means so satisfactory a justification of his conduct.

While his army, under the conduct of his generals, marches towards Greece, crossing the Alps and the north of Italy, Julian, at the head of a chosen body of cavalry, passes the Rhine, traverses Germany and Pannonia, partly through dominions belonging to the empire, and partly through those of barbarians, and is seen descending the mountains of Macedonia, while he was supposed still to be in Gaul. This march, unique as it is in history, is nevertheless scarcely known; for the hatred of the priests made them envy Julian even his military glory.

Within six months from the commencement of his reign, he secured all the frontiers of the empire, excited a universal respect both for his justice and clemency, extinguished the quarrels that existed between christians, which began to disturb and shake the empire, and replied to their revilings, and counteracted their plots, only by arguments and pleasantry. He at last undertook, against

JUST AND UNJUST.

Who has given us the perception of just and unjust? God, who gave us a brain and a heart. But when does our reason inform us that there are such things as

the Parthians, that war which had for its sole object the obtaining for the eastern provinces a secure barrier against incursion. Never was so short a reign attended with more real glory. Under his predecessors, as well as under the princes who succeeded him, it was a capital crime to wear robes of purple; one of the courtiers once accused before him a citizen who, out of pride or folly, had adorned himself with this dangerous distinction. Well then, says Julian, he only wants purple shoes; carry him a pair from me, and his dress will be then complete.

The "Satire of the Cæsars" is a work abounding with keen observation and sound philosophy; the stern, but just and well-grounded judgment here pronounced on these princes by one of their successors, is a record perfectly singular in history. In his "Letters to Philosophers," in his "Discourse to the Athenians," he shows himself superior in genius and acquirements to Marcus Antoninus, his model; the only emperor, besides himself, who left any written works behind him. In order to form a correct judgment of the philosophical writings of Julian and his book against the christians, we must compare them, not with the works of modern philosophers, but with those of the Greek philosophers, of the learned and ingenious men of his own age, and of the fathers of the church; it will be then seen, that few men could be compared with advantage to this prince, who died at the age of thirty-two, after having gained battles on the Rhine and on the Euphrates.

He died like Epaminondas in the bosom of victory, and conversing tranquilly with the philosophers who followed his army. Fanatics had predicted his death; and the Persians, far from exulting at it, ascribed it to the treason of the Romans. Extraordinary precautions were necessary to prevent the christians from tearing to pieces his body, and violating his tomb. Jovian, his successor, was a christian. He made a disgraceful treaty with the Persians, and died at the end of a few months, the victim of intemperance and debauchery.

Those who reproach Julian for not having secured a successor to the empire worthy of replacing himself, forget the shortness of his reign, the necessity of beginning with the re-establishment of peace, and the difficulty of providing for the government of an immense empire, the constitution of which required a single master, could not endure a feeble sovereign, and furnished no means for an undisturbed election.—*French Ed.*

We need not, in allusion to the commencement of this able note, advert to the effective manner in which Gibbon, in the "Decline and Fall," has seconded Voltaire.—T.

vice and virtue? Just at the same time she teaches us that two and two make four. There is no innate knowledge, for the same reason that there is no tree that bears leaves and fruit when it first starts above the earth. There is nothing innate, or fully developed in the first instance; but—we repeat here what we have often said—God causes us to be born with organs, which, as they grow and become unfolded, make us feel all that it is necessary for our species to feel, for the conservation of that species.

How is this continual mystery performed? Tell me, ye yellow inhabitants of the Isles of Sunda, ye black Africans, ye beardless Canadians; and you—Plato, Cicero, and Epictetus. You all equally feel that it is better to give the superfluity of your bread, your rice, or your manioc, to the poor man who meekly requests it, than to kill him or scoop his eyes out. It is evident to the whole world, that a benefit is more honourable to the performer than an outrage, that gentleness is preferable to fury.

The only thing required then is to exercise our reason in discriminating the various shades of what is right and wrong. Good and evil are often neighbours; our passions confound them; who shall enlighten and direct us? Ourselves, when we are calm and undisturbed. Whoever has written on the subject of human duties, in all countries throughout the world, has written well, because he wrote with reason. All have said the same thing: Socrates and Epictetus, Confucius and Cicero, Marcus Antoninus and Amurath II., had the same morality.

We would repeat every day to the whole of the human race—Morality is uniform and invariable; it comes from God: dogmas are different; they come from ourselves.

Jesus never taught any metaphysical dogmas; he wrote no theological courses; he never said,—I am consubstantial; I have two wills and two natures with only one person. He left to the cordeliers and the jacobins who would appear twelve hundred years after him, the delicate and difficult topic of argument, whe-

that his mother was conceived in original sin? he never pronounced marriage to be the visible sign of a thing invisible; he never said a word about concomitant grace; he instituted neither monks nor inquisitors; he appointed nothing of what we see at the present day.

God had given the knowledge of just and unjust, right and wrong, throughout all the ages which preceded christianity. God never changed nor can change. The constitution of our souls, our principles of reason and morality, will ever be the same. How is virtue promoted by theological distinctions, by dogmas founded on those distinctions, by persecutions founded on those dogmas? Nature, terrified and horror-struck at all these barbarous inventions, calls aloud to all men—Be just, and not persecuting sophists.

You read in the Sadder, which is the summary of the laws of Zoroaster, this admirable maxim:—"When it is doubtful whether the action you are about to perform is just or unjust, abstain from doing it." What legislator ever spoke better? We have not here the system of 'probable opinions,' invented by people who called themselves 'the Society of Jesus.'

JUSTICE.

THAT 'justice' is often extremely unjust, is not an observation merely of the present day; 'summum jus, summa injuria,' is one of the most ancient proverbs in existence. There are many dreadful ways of being unjust; as for example that of racking the innocent Calas upon equivocal evidence, and thus incurring the guilt of shedding innocent blood, by a too strong reliance on vain presumptions.

Another method of being unjust is, condemning to execution a man who at most deserves only three months imprisonment; this species of injustice is that of tyrants, and particularly of fanatics, who always become tyrants whenever they obtain the power of doing mischief.

We cannot more completely demonstrate this truth than by the letter of a celebrated barrister, written in

1766; to the marquis of Beccaria, one of the most celebrated professors of jurisprudence at this time in Europe:—

Letter to the Marquis of Beccaria, Professor of Public Law at Milan, on the Subject of M. de Morangies. 1772.

Sir,—You are a teacher of laws in Italy, a country from which we derive all laws except those which have been transmitted to us by our own absurd and contradictory customs, the remains of that ancient barbarism, the rust of which subsists to this day in one of the most flourishing kingdoms of the earth.

Your book upon crimes and punishments opened the eyes of many of the lawyers of Europe who had been brought up in absurd and inhuman usages; and men began everywhere to blush at finding themselves still wearing their ancient dress of savages.

Your opinion was requested on the dreadful execution to which two young gentlemen just out of their childhood had been sentenced; one of whom, having escaped the tortures he was destined to, has become a most excellent officer in the service of the great king, while the other, who had inspired the brightest hopes, died like a sage, by a horrible death, without ostentation and without pusillanimity, surrounded by no less than five executioners. These lads were accused of indecency in action and words, a fault which three months imprisonment would have sufficiently punished, and which would have been infallibly corrected by time.

You replied, that their judges were assassins, and that all Europe was of your opinion.

I consulted you on the cannibal sentences passed on

* M. de Voltaire, in the preceding editions, had placed here, under the title of "Letter of M. Cassen to M. Beccaria," a little work that he had printed separately under that of "An Account of the Chevalier de la Barre." That account has been printed among our author's works of Policy and Legislation (see the second volume of Policy) and we have substituted for it in this place another letter of M. de Voltaire to M. Beccaria, on the prosecution of M. de Morangies. The rest of his other writings upon this subject are to be found in the course of the same volume.

Calas, on Sirven, and Montbailly; and you anticipated the decrees which were afterwards issued from the chief courts and officers of law in the kingdom, which justified injured innocence and re-established the honour of the nation.

I at present consult you on a cause of a very different nature. It is at once civil and criminal. It is the case of a man of quality, a major-general in the army, who maintains alone his honour and fortune against a whole family of poor and obscure citizens, and against an immense multitude consisting of the dregs of the people, whose execrations against him are echoed through the whole of France.

The poor family accuses the general officer of taking from it by fraud and violence a hundred thousand crowns.

The general officer accuses these poor persons of trying to obtain from him a hundred thousand crowns by means equally criminal. They complain, that they are not merely in danger of losing an immense property, which they never appeared to possess, but also of being oppressed, insulted, and beaten by the officers of justice, who compelled them to declare themselves guilty and consent to their own ruin and punishment. The general solemnly protests, that these imputations of fraud and violence are atrocious calumnies. The advocates of the two parties contradict each other on all the facts, on all the inductions, and even on all the reasonings; their memorials are called tissues of falsehoods; and each treats the adverse party as inconsistent and absurd,—an invariable practice in every dispute.

When you have had the goodness, sir, to read their memorials, which I have now the honour of sending to you, you will, I trust, permit me to suggest the difficulties which I feel on the case; they are dictated by perfect impartiality. I know neither of the parties, and neither of the advocates; but having, in the course of four and twenty years, seen calumny and injustice so often triumph, I may be permitted to endeavour to penetrate the labyrinth in which these monsters unfortunately find shelter.

Presumptions against the Perron Family.

1. In the first place, there are four bills, payable to order, for a hundred thousand crowns, drawn with perfect regularity by an officer otherwise deeply involved in debt; they are payable for the benefit of a woman of the name of Perron, who called herself the widow of a banker. They are presented by her grandson, du Jonquay, her heir, recently admitted a doctor of laws, although he is ignorant even of orthography. Is this enough? Yes, in an ordinary case it would be so; but if, in this very extraordinary case, there is an extreme probability, that the doctor of laws never did and never could carry the money which he pretends to have delivered in his grandmother's name; if the grandmother, who maintained herself with difficulty in a garret, by the miserable occupation of pawnbroking, never could have been in the possession of the hundred thousand crowns; if in short the grandson and his mother have spontaneously confessed, and attested the written confession by their actual signatures, that they attempted to rob the general, and that he never received more than twelve hundred francs instead of three hundred thousand livres;—in this case, is not the cause sufficiently cleared up? Is not the public sufficiently able to judge from these preliminaries?

2. I appeal to yourself, sir, whether it is probable that the poor widow of a person unknown in society, who is said to have been a petty stock-jobber, and not a banker, could be in possession of so considerable a sum to lend, at an extreme risk, to an officer notoriously in debt? The general in short contends, that this jobber, the husband of the woman in question, died insolvent; that even his inventory was never paid for; that this pretended banker was originally a baker's boy in the household of M. the duke of St. Aignan, the French ambassador in Spain; that he afterwards took up the profession of a broker at Paris; and that he was compelled by M. Heraut, lieutenant of police, to restore certain promissory notes, or bills of exchange, which he had obtained from some young man by extortion;—

such the fatality impending over this wretched family from bills of exchange! Should all these statements be proved, do you conceive it at all probable, that this family lent a hundred thousand crowns to an involved officer with whom they were upon no terms of friendship or acquaintance?

3. Do you consider it probable, that the jobber's grandson, the doctor of laws, should have gone on foot no less than five leagues, have made twenty-six journeys, have mounted and descended three thousand steps, all in the space of five hours, without any stopping, to carry 'secretly' twelve thousand four hundred and twenty-five louis-d'or to a man, to whom, on the following day he publicly gives twelve hundred francs? Does not such an account appear to be invented with an utter deficiency of ingenuity, and even of common sense? Do those who believe it appear to be sages? What can you think then of those who solemnly affirm it without believing it?

4. Is it probable, that young du Jonquay, the doctor of laws, and his own mother, should have made and signed a declaration, upon oath, before a superior judge, that this whole account was false, that they had never carried the gold, and that they were confessed rogues, if in fact they had not been such, and if grief and remorse had not extorted this confession of their crime? And when they afterwards say, that they had made this confession before the commissary, only because they had previously been assaulted and beaten at the house of a proctor, would such an excuse be deemed by you reasonable or absurd?

Can anything be clearer, than that if this doctor of laws had really been assaulted and beaten in any other house on account of this cause, he should have demanded justice of the commissary for this violence, instead of freely signing, together with his mother, that they were both guilty of a crime which they had not committed?

Would it be admissible for them to say,—We signed our condemnation because we thought that the general

had bought over against us all the police officers and all the chief judges?

Can good sense listen for a moment to such arguments? Would any one have dared to suggest such even in the days of our barbarism, when we had neither laws, nor manners, nor cultivated reason?

If I may credit the very circumstantial memorials of the general, the Perrons, when put in prison upon his accusation, at first persisted in the confession of their crime. They wrote two letters to the person whom they had made the depository of the bills extorted from the general; they were terrified at the contemplation of their guilt, which they saw might conduct them to the galleys or to the gibbet. They afterwards gain more firmness and confidence. The persons with whom they were to divide the fruit of their villany encourage and support them; and the attractions of the vast sum in their contemplation seduce, hurry, and urge them on to persevere in the original charge. They call into their assistance all the dark frauds and pettifogging chicanery to which they can gain access, to clear them from a crime which they had themselves actually admitted. They avail themselves with dexterity of the distresses to which the involved officer was occasionally reduced, to give a colour of probability to his attempting the re-establishment of his affairs by the robbery or theft of a hundred thousand crowns. They rouse the commiseration of the populace, who at Paris are easily stimulated and frenzied. They appeal successfully for compassion to the members of the bar, who make it a point of indispensable duty to employ their eloquence in their behalf, and to support the weak against the powerful, the people against the nobility. The clearest case becomes in time the most obscure. A simple cause, which the police magistrate would have terminated in four days, goes on increasing for more than a whole year by the mire and filth introduced into it through all the numberless channels of chicanery, interest, and party spirit. You will perceive that the

whole of this statement is a summary of memorials or documents that appeared in this celebrated cause.

Presumptions in Favour of the Perron Family.

We shall here consider the defence of the grandmother, the mother, and the grandson (the doctor of laws) against these strong presumptions.

1. The hundred thousand crowns (or very nearly that sum) which it is pretended the widow Perron never was possessed of, were formerly made over to her by her husband, in trust, together with the silver plate. This deposit was 'secretly' brought to her six months after her husband's death, by a man of the name of Chotard. She placed them out, and always 'secretly,' with a notary called Gilet, who restored them to her, still 'secretly,' in 1760. She had therefore, in fact, the hundred thousand crowns which her adversary pretends she never possessed.

2. She died in extreme old age, while the cause was going on, protesting, after receiving the sacrament, that these hundred thousand crowns were carried in gold to the general officer by her grandson, in twenty-six journeys on foot, on the twenty-third of September in 1771.

3. It is not at all probable, that an officer accustomed to borrowing, and broken down in circumstances, should have given bills payable to order for the sum of three thousand livres, to a person unknown to him, unless he had actually received that sum.

4. There are witnesses who saw counted out and ranged in order the bags filled with this gold, and who saw the doctor of laws carry it to the general on foot, under his great coat, in twenty-six journeys, occupying the space of five hours. And he made these twenty-six astonishing journeys merely to satisfy the general, who had particularly requested secrecy.

5. The doctor of laws adds,—Our grandmother and ourselves lived, it is true, in a garret, and we lent a little money upon pledges; but we lived so merely upon a principle of judicious economy; the object was to buy

for me the office of a counsellor of parliament, at a time when the magistracy was purchasable. It is true that my three sisters gain their subsistence by needle-work and embroidery; the reason of which was, that my grandmother kept all her property for me. It is true that I have kept company only with procuresses, coachmen, and lacqueys; I acknowledge that I speak and that I write in their style; but I might not on that account be less worthy of becoming a magistrate, by making, after all, a good use of my time.*

6. All worthy persons have commiserated our misfortune. M. Auburg, a farmer-general, as respectable as any in Paris, has generously taken our side, and his voice has obtained for us that of the public.

This defence appears in some part of it plausible. Their adversary refutes it in the following manner:—

Arguments of the Major-General against those of the Perron Family.

1. The story of the deposit must be considered by every man of sense as equally false and ridiculous with that of the six and twenty journeys on foot. If the poor jobber, the husband of the old woman, had intended to give at his death so much money to his wife, he might have done it in a direct way from hand to hand, without the intervention of a third person.

If he had been possessed of the pretended silver plate, one half of it must have belonged to the wife, as equal owner of their united goods. She would not have remained quiet for the space of six months, in a paltry lodging of two hundred francs a year; without reclaiming her plate, and exerting her utmost efforts to obtain her right. Chotard also, the alleged friend of her husband and herself, would not have suffered her to remain for six long months in a state of such great indigence and anxiety.

There was, in reality, a person of the name of Chotard; but he was a man ruined by debts and debauchery, a fraudulent bankrupt who embezzled forty

* A pleasant satire upon the sale of offices.—T.

thousand crowns from the tax office of the farmers-general, in which he held a situation,* and who is not likely to have given up a hundred thousand crowns to the grandmother of the doctor in laws.

The widow Perron pretends, that she employed her money at interest, always it appears in secrecy, with a notary of the name of Gilet, but no trace of this fact can be found in the office of that notary.

She declares, that this notary returned her the money, still secretly, in the year 1760: he was at that time dead.

If all these facts be true, it must be admitted that the cause of du Jonquay and la Perron, built on a foundation of such ridiculous lies, must inevitably fall to the ground.

2. The will of la Perron, made half an hour before her death, when God and death were at the same instant on her lips, is, to all appearance, in itself a respectable and even pious document. But if it be really in the number of those pious things which are every day observed to be merely instrumental to crime—if this lender upon pledges, while recommending her soul to God, manifestly lied to God, what importance or weight can the document bring with it? Is it not rather the strongest proof of imposture and villainy?

The old woman had always been made to state, while the suit was carried on in her name, that she possessed only this sum of one hundred thousand crowns which it was intended to rob her of; that she never had more than that sum; and yet, behold! in her will she mentions five hundred thousand livres of her property! Here are two hundred thousand francs more than any one expected, and here is the widow Perron convicted out of her own mouth. Thus, in this singular cause, does the at once atrocious and ridiculous imposture of the family break out on every side, during the woman's life, and even when she is within the grasp of death.

* This appears from the evidence of MM. de Mazieres and Dangé, two farmers-general.

It is probable, and it is even in evidence, that the general would not trust his bills for a hundred thousand crowns to a doctor of whom he knew little or nothing, without having an acknowledgment from him. He did however commit this inadvertence, which is the fault of an unsuspecting and noble heart; he was led astray by the youth, by the candour, by the apparent generosity of a man not more than twenty-seven years of age, who was on the point of being raised to the magistracy, who actually, upon an urgent occasion, lent him twelve hundred francs, and who promised in the course of a few days to obtain for him, from an opulent company, the sum of a hundred thousand crowns. Here is the knot and difficulty of the cause. We must strictly examine whether it be probable, that a man, who is admitted to have received nearly a hundred thousand crowns in gold, should on the very morning after come in great haste, as for a most indispensable occasion, to the man who the evening before had advanced him twelve thousand four hundred and twenty-five louis-d'or.

There is not the slightest probability of his doing so. It is still less probable, as we have already observed, that a man of distinction, a general officer, and the father of a family, in return for the invaluable and almost unprecedented kindness of lending him a hundred thousand crowns, should, instead of the sincerest gratitude to his benefactor, absolutely endeavour to get him hanged; and this on the part of a man who had nothing more to do than to await quietly the distant expirations of the periods of payment; who was under no temptation, in order to gain time, to commit such profligate and atrocious villainy, and who had never in fact committed any villainy at all. Surely it is more natural to think that the man, whose grandfather was a pettifogging, paltry jobber, and whose grandmother was a wretched lender of small sums upon the pledges of absolute misery, should have availed himself of the blind confidence of an unsuspecting soldier, to extort from him a hundred thousand crowns, and that he promised to divide this sum with

the depraved and abominable accomplices of his baseness.

4. There are witnesses who depose in favour of du Jonquay and la Perron. Let us consider who those witnesses are and what they depose.

In the first place, there is a woman of the name of Tourtera, a broker, who supported la Perron in her peddling insignificant concern of pawnbroking, and who has been five times in the hospital in consequence of the scandalous impurities of her life; which can be proved with the utmost ease.

There is a coachman called Gilbert, who, sometimes firm, at other times trembling in his wickedness, declared to a lady of the name of Petit, in the presence of six persons, that he had been suborned by du Jonquay. He subsequently enquired of many other persons, whether he should yet be in time to retract, and reiterated expressions of this nature before witnesses.*

Setting aside however what has been stated of Gilbert's disposition to retract, it is very possible that he might be deceived, and may not be chargeable with falsehood and perjury. It is possible, that he might see money at the pawnbroker's, and that he might be told, and might believe, that three hundred thousand livres were there. Nothing is more dangerous in many persons than a quick and heated imagination, which actually makes men think that they have seen what it was absolutely impossible they could see.

Then comes a man of the name of Aubriot, a godson of the procuress Tourtera, and completely under her guidance. He deposes, that he saw, in one of the streets of Paris, on the twenty-third of September, 1771, doctor du Jonquay in his great coat, carrying bags.

Surely there is here no very decisive proof, that the doctor on that day made twenty-six journeys on foot, and travelled over five leagues of ground, to deliver 'secretly' twelve thousand four hundred and twenty-

* This is contained in the declaration of Count de Morangies. If he meant to deceive by such a statement, he could not be too severely censured. If he stated the truth, the cause was decided.

~~five~~ louis-d'or, even admitting all that this evidence states to be true. It appears clear, that du Jonquay went this journey to the general, and that he spoke to him; and it appears probable, that he deceived him; but it is not clear, that Aubriot saw him go and return thirteen times in one morning. It is still less clear, that this witness could at that time see so many circumstances occurring in the street, as he was actually labouring under a disorder which there is no necessity to name, and on that very day underwent for it the severe operation of medicine, with his legs tottering, his head swelled, and his tongue hanging half out of his mouth. This was not precisely the moment for running into the street to see sights. Would his friend du Jonquay have said to him—Come and risk your life, to see me traverse a distance of five leagues loaded with gold: I am going to deliver the whole fortune of my family, secretly, to a man overwhelmed with debts; I wish to have, privately, as a witness, a person of your character? This is not exceedingly probable. The surgeon who applied the medicine to the witness Aubriot on this occasion, states that he was by no means in a situation to go out; and the son of the surgeon, in his interrogatory, refers the case to the academy of surgery.

But even admitting that a man of a particularly robust constitution could have gone out and taken some turns in the street in this disgraceful and dreadful situation, what could it have signified to the point in question? Did he see du Jonquay make twenty-six journeys between his garret and the general's hotel? Did he see twelve thousand four hundred and twenty-five louis-d'or carried by him? Was any individual whatever a witness to this prodigy well worthy the Thousand and One Nights? Most certainly not; no person whatever. What is the amount then of all his evidence on the subject?

5. That the daughter of la Perron, in her garret, may have sometimes borrowed small sums on pledges; that la Perron may have lent them, in order to obtain

and save a profit, to make her grandson a counsellor of parliament, has nothing at all to do with the substance of the case in question. In defiance of all this, it will ever be evident, that this magistrate by anticipation did not traverse the five leagues to carry to the general the hundred thousand crowns, and that the general never received them.

6. A person named Aubourg comes forward, not merely as a witness, but as a protector and benefactor of oppressed innocence. The advocates of the Perron family extol this man as a citizen of rare and intrepid virtue. He became feelingly alive to the misfortunes of doctor du Jonquay, his mother, and grandmother, although he had no acquaintance with them; and offered them his credit and his purse, without any other object than that of assisting persecuted merit.

Upon examination it is found, that this hero of disinterested benevolence is a contemptible wretch who began the world as a lacquey, was then successively an upholsterer, a broker, and a bankrupt, and is now, like la Perron and Tourtera, by profession a pawnbroker. He flies to the assistance of persons of his own profession. The woman Tourtera in the first place gave him twenty-five louis-d'or, to interest his probity and kindness in assisting a desolate family. The generous Aubourg had the greatness of soul to make an agreement with the old grandmother, almost when she was dying, by which she gives him fifteen thousand crowns, on condition of his undertaking to defray the expences of the cause. He even takes the precaution to have this bargain noticed and confirmed in the will, dictated or pretended to be dictated by this old widow of the jobber on her death-bed. This respectable and venerable man then hopes one day to divide with some of the witnesses the spoils that are to be obtained from the general. It is the magnanimous heart of Aubourg that has formed this disinterested scheme; it is he who has conducted the cause which he seems to have taken up as a patrimony. He believed the bills payable to order would infallibly be paid. He is

in fact a receiver who participates in the plunder effected by robbers, and who appropriates the better part to himself.

Such are the replies of the general: I neither subtract from them nor add to them—I simply state them.

I have thus explained to you, sir, the whole substance of the cause, and stated all the strongest arguments on both sides.

I request your opinion of the sentence which ought to be pronounced, if matters should remain in the same state, if the truth cannot be irrevocably obtained from one or other of the parties, and made to appear perfectly without a cloud.

The reasons of the general officer are thus far convincing. Natural equity is on his side. This natural equity, which God has established in the hearts of all men, is the basis of all law. Ought we to destroy this foundation of all justice, by sentencing a man to pay a hundred thousand crowns which he does not appear to owe?

He drew bills for a hundred thousand crowns, in the vain hope that he should receive the money; he negotiated with a young man whom he did not know, just as he would have done with the banker of the king or of the empress-queen. Should his bills have more validity than his reasons? A man certainly cannot owe what he has not received. Bills, policies, bonds, always imply, that the corresponding sums have been delivered and had; but if there is evidence that no money has been had and delivered, there can be no obligation to return or pay any. If there is writing against writing, document against document, the last dated cancels the former ones. But in the present case the last writing is that of du Jonquay and his mother, and it states that the opposite party in the cause never received from them a hundred thousand crowns, and that they are cheats and impostors.

What! because they have disavowed the truth of their confession, which they state to have been made in consequence of their having received a blow or an

assault, shall another man's property be adjudged to them?

I will suppose for a moment (what is by no means probable) that the judges, bound down by forms, will sentence the general to pay what in fact he does not owe;—will they not in this case destroy his reputation as well as his fortune? Will not all who have sided against him in this most singular adventure, charge him with calumniously accusing his adversaries of a crime of which he is himself guilty? He will lose his honour, in their estimation, in losing his property. He will never be acquitted but in the judgments of those who examine profoundly. The number of these is always small. Where are the men to be found who have leisure, attention, capacity, impartiality, to consider anxiously every aspect and bearing of a cause in which they are not themselves interested? They judge in the same way as our ancient parliament judged of books,—that is, without reading them.

You, sir, are fully acquainted with this, and know that men generally judge of everything by prejudice, hearsay, and chance. No one reflects, that the cause of a citizen ought to interest the whole body of citizens; and that we may ourselves have to endure in despair the same fate which we perceive, with eyes and feelings of indifference, falling heavily upon him. We write and comment every day upon the judgments passed by the senate of Rome and the Areopagus of Athens; but we think not for a moment of what passes before our own tribunals.

You, sir, who comprehend all Europe in your researches and decisions, will, I sincerely hope, deign to communicate to me a portion of your light. It is possible, certainly, that the formalities and chicanery connected with law proceedings, and with which I am little conversant, may occasion to the general the loss of the cause in court; but it appears to me, that he must gain it at the tribunal of an enlightened public, that awful and accurate judge who pronounces after

deep investigation, and who is the final disposer of character.*

KING.

KING, basileus, tyrannos, rex, dux, imperator, melch, baal, bel, pharaoh, eli, shadai, adoni, shak, sophi, padisha, bogdan, chazan, kan, krall, kong, koönig, &c.—all expressions which signify the same office, but which convey very different ideas.

In Greece, neither 'basileus' nor 'tyrannos' ever conveyed the idea of absolute power. He who was able obtained this power, but it was always obtained against the inclination of the people.

It is clear, that among the Romans kings were not despotic. The last Tarquin deserved to be expelled, and was so. We have no proof that the petty chiefs of Italy were ever able at their pleasure to present a bowstring to the first man of the state, as is now done to a vile Turk in his seraglio, and like barbarous slaves, still more imbecile, suffer him to use it without complaint.

There was no king on this side the Alps, and in the north, at the time we became acquainted with this large quarter of the world. The Cimbri, who marched towards Italy, and who were exterminated by Marius, were like famished wolves, who issued from those forests with their females and whelps. As to a crowned head among these animals, or orders on the part of a secretary of state, of a grand butler, of a chancellor—any notion of arbitrary taxes, commissaries, fiscal edicts, &c. &c. they knew no more of any of these, than of the vespers and the opera.

* This curious narrative has been retained, because it may pair off with various similar imprudent deliveries of bills of exchange for negotiation to suspicious characters, which have produced so much kindred litigation in our own courts of law. In England, however, the confession of fraud of the plaintiffs would have been most likely final against them, for the bills do not appear to have been negotiated;—that it was otherwise in France, was probably owing to a knowledge of the impunity with which a highly connected man of family under the old regime could often oppress, and of the fear which he might naturally inspire among roturiers.—T.

It is certain that gold and silver, coined and uncoined, form an admirable means of placing him who has them not, in the power of him who has found out the secret of accumulation. It is for the latter alone to possess great officers, guards, cooks, girls, women, gaolers, almoners, pages, and soldiers.

It would be very difficult to ensure obedience with nothing to bestow but sheep and sheep-skins. It is also very likely, after all the revolutions of our globe, that it was the art of working metals which originally made kings, as it is the art of casting cannon which now maintains them.

Cæsar was right when he said, that with gold we may procure men, and with men acquire gold.

This secret had been known for ages in Asia and Egypt, where the princes and the priests shared the benefit between them.

The prince said to the priest,—Take this gold, and in return uphold my power and prophecy in my favour; I will be anointed, and thou shalt anoint me; constitute oracles, manufacture miracles; thou shalt be well paid for thy labour, provided that I am always master.—The priest, thus obtaining land and wealth, prophecies for himself, makes the oracles speak for himself, chases the sovereign from the throne, and very often takes his place. Such is the history of the shotim of Egypt, the magi of Persia, the soothsayers of Babylon, the chazin of Syria (if I mistake the name, it amounts to little)—all which holy persons sought to rule. Wars between the throne and the altar have in fact existed in all countries, even among the miserable Jews.

We inhabitants of the temperate zone of Europe have known this well for a dozen centuries. Our minds not being so temperate as our climate, we well know what it has cost us. Gold and silver form so entirely the *primum mobile* of the holy connection between sovereignty and religion, that many of our kings still send it to Rome, where it is seized and shared by priests as soon as it arrives.

When, in this eternal conflict for dominion, leaders

have become powerful, each has exhibited his pre-eminence in a mode of his own. It was a crime to spit in the presence of the king of the Medes. The earth must be stricken nine times by the forehead in the presence of the emperor of China.* A king of England imagines that he cannot take a glass of beer unless it be presented on the knees. Another king will have his right foot saluted, and all will take the money of their people. In some countries the krale, or chazan, is allowed an income, as in Poland, Sweden, and Great Britain. In others, a piece of paper† is sufficient for his treasury to obtain all that it requires.

Since we write upon the rights of the people, on taxation, on customs, &c. let us endeavour by profound reasoning, to establish the novel maxim, that a shepherd ought to shear his sheep, and not flay them.

As to the due limits of the prerogatives of kings, and of the liberty of the people, I recommend you to examine that question at your ease in some hotel in the town of Amsterdam.

KISS.

I DEMAND pardon of young ladies and gentlemen, for they will not find here what they may possibly expect. This article is only for learned and serious people, and will suit very few of them.

There is too much of kissing in the comedies of the time of Molière. The valets are always requesting kisses from the waiting-women, which is exceedingly flat and disagreeable, especially when the actors are ugly and must necessarily exhibit against the grain.

If the reader is fond of kisses, let him peruse the Pastor Fido: there is an entire chorus which treats only of kisses, and the piece itself is founded only on a kiss which Mirtillo one day bestows on the fair Amaryllis, in a game at blind-man's buff—"un bacio molto saporito."

In a chapter on kissing by John de la Casa, arch-

* Poor Lord Amherst!—T.

† An edict, we presume.—T.

bishop of Benevento, he says, that people may kiss from the head to the foot. He complains, however, of long noses, and recommends ladies who possess such, to have lovers with short ones.

To kiss was the ordinary manner of salutation throughout all antiquity. Plutarch relates, that the conspirators, before they killed Cæsar, kissed his face, his hands, and his bosom. Tacitus observes, that when his father-in-law Agricola returned to Rome, Domitian kissed him coldly, said nothing to him, and left him disregarded in the surrounding crowd. An inferior, who could not aspire to kiss his superior, kissed his own hand, and the latter returned the salute in a similar manner, if he thought proper.

The kiss was ever used in the worship of the gods. Job, in his parable, which is possibly the oldest of our known books, says that he had not adored the sun and moon like the other Arabs, or suffered his mouth to kiss his hand to them.

In the west, there remains of this civility only the simple and innocent practice yet taught in country places to children—that of kissing their right hands in return for a sugar-plumb.

It is horrible to betray while saluting; the assassination of Cæsar is thereby rendered much more odious. It is unnecessary to add, that the kiss of Judas has become a proverb.

Joab, one of the captains of David, being jealous of Amasa, another captain, said to him, "Art thou in health, my brother?" and took him by the beard with his right hand to kiss him, while with the other he drew his sword and smote him so that his bowels were "shed upon the ground."

We know not of any kissing in the other assassinations so frequent among the Jews, except possibly the kisses given by Judith to the Captain Holofernes, before she cut off his head in his bed; but no mention is made of them, and therefore the fact is only to be regarded as probable.

In Shakspeare's tragedy of Othello, the hero, who is a Moor, gives two kisses to his wife before he

strangles her. This appears abominable to orderly persons, but the partisans of Shakspeare say, that it is a fine specimen of nature, especially in a Moor.*

When John Galeas Sforza was assassinated in the cathedral of Milan, on St. Stephen's day; the two Medicis, in the church of Reparata; admiral Coligni, the prince of Orange, marshal d'Ancre, the brothers De Witt, and so many others, there was at least no kissing.

Among the ancients there was something, I know not what, symbolical and sacred attached to the kiss, since the statues of the gods were kissed, as also their beards, when the sculptors represented them with beards. The initiated kissed one another in the mysteries of Ceres, in sign of concord.

The first christians, male and female, kissed with the mouth at their Agapæ or love-feasts. They bestowed the holy kiss, the kiss of peace, the brotherly and sisterly kiss, 'agion philema.' This custom lasted for four centuries, and was finally abolished in distrust of the consequences. It was this custom, these kisses of peace, these love-feasts, these appellations of brother and sister, which drew on the christians, while little known, those imputations of debauchery bestowed upon them by the priests of Jupiter and the priestesses of Vesta. We read in Petronius and in other authors, that the dissolute called one another brother and sister; and it was thought, that among christians the same licentiousness was intended. They innocently gave occasion for the scandal upon themselves.

In the commencement seventeen different christian societies existed, as there had been nine among the Jews, including the two kinds of Samaritans. Those bodies which considered themselves the most orthodox accused the others of inconceivable impurities. The term 'gnostic,' at first so honourable, and which signifies the learned, enlightened, pure, became an epithet of horror and of contempt, and a reproach of heresy. St. Epiphanius, in the third century, pre-

* This criticism is altogether Gallic—a "telum imbellè."—T.

tended, that the males and females at first tickled each other, and at length proceeded to lascivious kisses, judging of the degree of faith in each other by the warmth of them. A christian husband in presenting his wife to a newly-initiated member, would exhort her to receive him as above stated, and was always obeyed.

We dare not repeat in our chaste language all that Epiphanius adds in Greek.* We shall simply observe, that this saint was probably a little imposed upon, that he suffered himself to be transported by his zeal, and that all the heretics were not execrable debauchees. The sect of pietists, wishing to imitate the early christians, at present bestow on each other kisses of peace, on departing from their assemblies, and also call one another brother and sister. The ancient ceremony was a kiss with the lips, and the pietists have carefully preserved it.

There was no other manner of saluting the ladies in France, Italy, Germany, and England. The cardinals enjoyed the privilege of kissing the lips of queens, even in Spain, though—what is singular—not in France; where the ladies have always had more liberty than elsewhere; but every country has its ceremonies, and there is no custom so general but chance may have produced an exception. It was an incivility, a rudeness, in receiving the first visit of a nobleman, if a lady did not kiss his lips—no matter for his mustachios. “It is an unpleasant custom,” says Montaigne,† “and offensive to the ladies to have to offer their lips to the three valets in his suite, however repulsive.” This custom is however the most ancient in the world.

If it is disagreeable to a young and pretty mouth to glue itself to one which is old and ugly, there is also

* Voltaire, or the French editor, gives it in Latin; and as a proof of the rank imagination of the holy father Epiphanius it is a curiosity, but in every other respect execrably odious and disgusting, being one of the most revolting of the imputations built upon the silly doctrine of the real presence. Carnal ideas will be carnally prostituted.—T.

† Book iii. 5.

great danger in the junction of fresh and vermilion lips of the age of twenty to twenty-five—a truth which has finally abolished the ceremony of kissing in mysteries and love feasts. Hence also the seclusion of women throughout the east, who kiss only their fathers and brothers—a custom long introduced into Spain by the Arabs.

Attend to the danger: there is a nerve which runs from the mouth to the heart, and thence lower still, which produces in the kiss an exquisitely dangerous sensation. Virtue may suffer from a prolonged and ardent kiss between two young pietists of the age of eighteen.

It is remarkable that mankind, and turtles, and pigeons, alone practice kissing; hence the Latin word ‘columbatim,’ which our language cannot render.

We cannot decorously dwell longer on this interesting subject, although Montaigne says, “It should be spoken of without reserve; we boldly speak of killing, wounding, and betraying, while on this point we dare only whisper.”

LANGUAGES.

SECTION I.

It is said that the Indians commence almost all their books with these words: “Blessed be the inventor of writing.” In the same way we might begin conversation with blessing the inventor of language.

In the article ALPHABET we have premised, that there was never any primitive language from which all others are derivable.

We see that the word ‘Al’ or ‘El,’ which among some orientals signified God, has no relation to the word ‘Gott,’ which expresses God in Germany. ‘House,’ ‘huis,’ can scarcely be derived from the Greek ‘domos.’

Our mothers, and the languages called mother tongues, have much resemblance. Both have children, who marry into neighbouring countries and alter their languages and manners. These mothers have

other mothers, of whom genealogists cannot discover the origin. The earth is covered with families who dispute for nobility without knowing whence they came.

Of the most common and natural Words in all Languages.

Experience teaches us that children are merely imitators; that if nothing was said to them, they would not speak, but would content themselves with crying.

In almost all known countries, the first things they say are—‘baba,’ ‘papa,’ ‘mamma,’ or such other words, easy to pronounce, which they continually repeat. However towards Mount Krapak, where it is known that I live, children always say ‘dada’ and not papa. In some provinces they say ‘mon bibi.’

A little Chinese vocabulary is placed at the end of the first volume of the Memoirs on China. I find by this abridged dictionary, that ‘fou,’ pronounced in a manner different from ours, signifies father; and that children, who cannot pronounce the letter *f*, say ‘ou.’ There is a great difference between ‘ou’ and ‘papa.’

Let those who would know the word which answers to our papa in Japanese, in Tartar, in the jargon of Kamschatka and Hudson’s Bay, travel in these countries to instruct us.

We run the risk of falling into great mistakes on the borders of the Seine or Soane, when we give lessons on the language of a country in which we have never been. In that case we should say,—I have read thus in Vachter, Menage, Bochart, Kircher, and Pezro, who knew no more of it than myself. I doubt much, I believe, but I am much disposed to believe no longer, &c. &c.

A recollet named Sagart Theodat, who preached for thirty years among the Iroquois, Algonquins, and Hurons, has given us a little Huron dictionary, printed at Paris by Denis Moreau, in 1632. This work will not hereafter be of much use to us, since France is relieved from the burthen of Canada. He says, that in Huron father is ‘aystan,’ and in Canadian ‘notoui.’ Notoui and aystan are very far from ‘pater’ and ‘papa.’ Take care of your systems, I tell you, my dear Celts.

Of a System on Languages.

The author* of the Mechanism of Languages thus explains his system.

“The Latin termination ‘urire’ is appropriated to design a lively and ardent desire of doing something—‘micturire,’ ‘ensurire;’ by which it seems to have been fundamentally formed on the word ‘urere,’ and the radical sign ‘ur,’ which signifies fire, in so many languages. Thus the termination ‘urire’ was well chosen to designate a burning desire.”

We do not however see how this termination in ‘ire’ can be appropriated to a lively and ardent desire in ‘ire,’ ‘exire,’ ‘abire,’ to go, to go out, and to go away; in ‘vincire,’ to tie; ‘scaturire,’ to scatter; ‘condire,’ to season or preserve; ‘parturire,’ to bring forth; and ‘grunnire,’ to groan, to grunt, an ancient word which very well expresses the cry of the pig.

It must above all be confessed, that this ‘irè’ is not appropriated to any very lively desire in ‘balbutire,’ to stammer; ‘singultire,’ to sob; and ‘perire,’ to perish. No person wishes either to stammer or to sob, much less to perish. His little system is very faulty—a new reason why we should distrust systems.

The same author appears to go too far in saying—“We protrude and purse our lips, if we may so express ourselves, to pronounce the *u*, a vowel peculiar to the French, which other nations possess not.”

It is true, that the preceptor of the Bourgeois Gentleman teaches him to make a wry face, in pronouncing the *u*, but it is not true, that the other nations do not make wry mouths also.

Without doubt, the author speaks neither of the Spanish, English, German, nor Dutch; he alludes only to the ancient authors who knew these languages no more than those of Senegal and Thibet, which however the author quotes. The Spaniards say ‘su padre, su madre,’ with a sound which is not quite the *u* of the Italians; they pronounce ‘mui,’ approaching nearer to

* The president De Brosses.

the *u* than the 'ou;' they pronounce not 'ousted' strongly; it is not the *u* of the Romans,

The Germans are accustomed to change the *u* a little into *i*, whence it comes that they always ask you for 'ekis' instead of 'ecus,' crowns. Several Germans at present pronounce flute as we did formerly, calling it 'flaute.' The Dutch have preserved the *u*; witness the comedies of madame Alikruc and their 'udiener.' The English, who have corrupted all the vowels, always pronounce 'ui,' and not 'oui,' which they articulate with difficulty. They say 'virtue' and 'true,' not 'vertou' and 'troue.'

The Greeks have always given to the 'upsilon' the sound of our *u*, as Calepin and Scapula avow on the letter upsilon, as well as Cicero in "De Oratore."

The same author is deceived, in assuring us that the English words humour and spleen cannot be translated. He has believed some ill-informed Frenchmen. The English have taken their 'humour,' which with them signifies natural pleasantry, from our word 'humeur,' used in the same sense in the early comedies of Corneille, and in all preceding ones. He afterwards said 'belle humeur.' D'Assouci's Ovid possesses 'belle humeur,' but latterly we only make use of this word to express the contrary of that which is understood by it in English. With us, 'humeur' now signifies chagrin. The English have thus possessed themselves of almost all our expressions. We might make a book of them.

With regard to spleen, it is translated exactly by the word 'rate.' No long time ago we spoke of 'vapeurs de rate.' Molière, in his *Amour Médecin*, gives an invitation to all those afflicted with the 'vapeurs de rate' (spleen) to quit Hippocrates and join in merriment:—

Vent-on qu'on rebate,
Par des moyens doux,
Les vapeurs de rate
Qui nous, minent tous ?
Qu'on laisse Hippocrate,
Et qu'on vienne à nous.*

* Molière, *Amour Médecin*, act iii. sc. 8.

We have suppressed 'rate,' and are now confined to 'vapeurs.'

The same author says,* that the French are above all things pleased at what they call 'avoir de l'esprit.' This expression, he says, is proper to our language, and is not found in any other. There is nothing in English more common: wit and witty are precisely the same thing. Lord Rochester always called king Charles II. the witty king, who, according to him, never said a foolish thing and never did a wise one. The English pretend, that it is themselves who say good things, and that the French only laugh at them.

And what will become of the 'ingegnoso' of the Italians and the 'agudeza' of the Spaniards, of which we have spoken in the article FRANK?

The same author very judiciously remarks,† that whilst a people are savage, they are simple, and their expressions are so also. "The Hebrew people were half savage: the book of their laws treats openly of natural things which our languages are careful of expressing. It is a sign, that with them there is nothing licentious in the mode of speaking, for they would not have written a book of law in a style contrary to their manners," &c.

We have given a striking example of this simplicity which at present would be more than cynical, in our quotation of the adventures of Aholah and Aholibah, and those of Hosea; and though it may be permitted to change opinion, we hope we shall always be of that of the author of the Mechanism of Languages, even when several scholars might be otherwise.

But we cannot think with the author of this Mechanism, when he says:—

"In the west a shameful idea is attached to the union of the sexes; in the east it is connected with the use of wine. Among the mussulmans, who are forbidden wine by the law, the word 'cherub,' which in general signifies syrup, sherbet, liquor, but more particularly wine, with other words relative to it, are regarded by

* Vol. i.

† Vol. ii. p. 146.

very religious people as obscene terms, or at least too free to be in the mouth of a person of good manners. Prejudice, in regard to obscenity, is carried so far, that it ceases not even when the thing or action, to which the idea is attached, is honest and legitimate, permitted and prescribed; so that it is frequently indecent to say what it is very often decent to do.

"In truth, decency is here contented with a very small sacrifice. It must always appear singular, that obscenity may exist in the words, and not in the ideas attached to them," &c.

The author appears very ill informed of the manners of Constantinople. If he interrogates M. de Tott, he will tell him, that the word wine is not at all indecorous among the Turks. It is impossible that it can be so, since the Greeks are authorised to sell wine among them. Obscenity in any language is attached only to certain pleasures which are never permitted before witnesses, because organs are employed which it is necessary to conceal. We do not hide our mouths. It is a sin among mussulmen to play at dice, not to sleep with their wives on Friday, to drink wine, or to eat before sunset during Ramadan; but it is not obscene.

It must be remarked, that all languages have various terms, which give very different ideas of the same thing. To consummate marriage, '*matrimonis uti*,' presents only the idea of a duty accomplished. "*Membrum virile in vaginam intromittere*," is merely an expression of anatomy. "*Amplecti amorose juvenum uxorem*" is a voluptuous idea. Other words convey images which alarm modesty.

Let us add, that if in the first ages of a simple, stupid, and gross nation, they made use of the only terms they knew to express the act of generation, as the author has very well observed of the half-savage Jews, other people use obscene words when they have become more refined and polished. Hosea uses a term which answers to the '*fodere*' of the Latins; but Augustus impudently hazards the words '*futuere, mentula*' in his infamous epigram against Fulvius. Horace is lavish of these terms. They even invented the shameful expressions,

often found in Catullus and Martial, which represent turpitudes scarcely known among us; neither have we terms to express them.

The word 'gabaoutar,' invented at Venice in the sixteenth century, expressed an infamy unknown to other nations.

There is no language which can translate certain epigrams of Martial, so dear to the emperors Adrian and Lucius Verus.

Genius of Languages.

The aptitude of a language to convey, in the shortest and most harmonious manner, that which others express less happily, is called its genius.

For example, Latin is more suitable to the lapidary style than modern languages, because of their auxiliary verbs, which lengthen an inscription and weaken it.

Greek, by its melodious blending of vowels and consonants, is more favourable to music than German and Dutch.

Italian, by its still oftener repeated vowels, is perhaps better for soft music.

Latin and Greek, being the only languages which have a true quantity, are more adapted for poetry than all other languages in the world.

French, by the natural turn of its constructions, and also by its prosody, is more proper to conversation than any other. For this reason strangers understand French books more easily than those of other people. In philosophical French books they approve a clearness of style, which elsewhere is found very rarely.

This is what has caused the French language to be preferred even to the Italian, which, by its immortal works of the sixteenth century, previously bore sway in Europe.

The author of the Mechanism of Languages attempts to despoil the French language even of the order and clearness which form its principal advantage. He goes so far as to quote authors of little credit; and even Pluche, to make it believed, that the inversions of the Latin are natural, and that it is the natural construc-

tion of the French which is forced; but it is not such examples that the author of the Mechanism of Language should have quoted. Why did he not refer to the fine verses of Racine? Why did he not compare its natural syntax with the inversions admitted into all our ancient poetry?

Jusqu'ici la Fortune et la Victoire mêmes
Cachaient mes cheveux blancs sous trente diadèmes.
Mais ce temps-là n'est plus

Mithridate, act iii. sc. 5.

Transpose these terms according to the Latin genius in the manner of Ronsard,—“Sous diadèmes trente cachaient mes cheveux blancs, Fortune et victoire mêmes. Plus n'est ce temps heureux.”

It is thus that we formerly wrote, and it was only for us to continue it; but we have felt that this construction agreed not with the genius of our language, which must always be consulted. This genius, which is that of dialogue, triumphs in tragedy and comedy, which is merely a continual dialogue; and it pleases in all which requires simplicity, agreeableness in the art of narrating, explaining, &c. It perhaps accommodates itself less to the ode, which bespeaks a kind of intoxication and disorder, and which formerly required the accompaniment of music.

However this may be, acquaint yourself with the genius of your own language, meddle little with foreign languages, and particularly with those of the east, at least until you have lived thirty years at Aleppo.

SECTION II.

Boileau observes, in his Art of Poetry, that the greatest genius, without command of language, makes but a poor writer.

Sans la langue, en un mot, l'auteur le plus divin
Est toujours, quoi qu'il fasse, un méchant écrivain.

BOILEAU.—Art. Poétique, chant i. v. 161, 162.

Three things are absolutely necessary—regularity, clearness, and grace. With the two first we may not write badly; with the third we must write well.

These three qualities, which are absolutely unknown

in the university of Paris from its foundation, are almost always united in the works of the professor of ancient history, Rollin. Before him, we neither knew how to write or think in French; he has rendered an eternal service to youth.

What may appear astonishing is, that the French have no author more correct in prose than Racine and Boileau are in verse; for it is ridiculous to regard as faults some noble poetical licences, which are true beauties, and which enrich the language rather than disfigure it.

Corneille too often sinned against language, although he wrote during the time it was perfected. It was his misfortune to have been provincially educated, and to compose his best pieces in the country. In him are often found improprieties, solecisms, barbarisms, and obscurities; although in his finest pieces he is often as pure as he is sublime.

The person who criticised Corneille with so much impartiality, who, in his Commentary, spoke with so much warmth of the fine passages of his tragedies, and who only undertook such commentary for the better establishment of this great man's grand-daughter, has remarked, that there is not a single error of language in the great scene of Cinna and Emilius, in which Cinna gives an account of his meeting with the conspirators; and he scarcely finds above one or two in the other immortal scene, in which Augustus deliberates whether he shall abdicate the empire.

By a singular fatality, the coldest scenes of his other pieces are those in which the errors of language most abound. Almost all these scenes, not being animated by true and interesting sentiments, but merely filled with perplexed reasoning, err as much in expression as in thought. Nothing is clear, nothing shows itself openly; so true is it, that what is strongly conceived is clearly expressed:—

Ce que l'on conçoit bien s'énonce clairement.

Art. Poétique, chant. i. v. 153.

The worst works are commonly the most defective in language.

Harmony of Languages.

I have met with more than one Englishman and German who have found harmony in their own languages alone. The Russian language, which is the Slavonian mixed with some Greek and Tartarian words, appears melodious to Russian ears.

However, a German or an Englishman, with ear and taste, will be more pleased with 'ouranos' than with 'heaven' and 'himmel;' with 'anthropos' than 'man;' with 'Theos' than with 'God' or 'Gott;' with 'aristos' than with 'goud.' Dactyls and spondees please his ear more than the uniform and tuneless syllables of all other languages.

Nevertheless, I have known great scholars who have complained bitterly of Horace. How is it, say they, that these men, who pass for models of melody, not only continually clash vowels against one another, which is expressly forbidden to us; not only lengthen or shorten a word in the Greek style, according to their pleasure,—but boldly cut a word in two, and put one half at the end of a line, and the other at the commencement of the following one:—

Redditum Civi solio Phraaten
Diffidens plebi numero beatorum
eximit virtus, &c.

HORACE, lib. ii. od. 2.

It is as if we wrote in a French ode—

Défions-nous de la fortune,
et n'en crayons que la vertu.

Horace confined himself not to these slight liberties; he puts at the end of a line the first letter of the word which commences the following one:—

Jove non probante uxoris
annis.

Lib. i. od. 2.

What shall we say of these harmonious lines?

Septimi, Gades aditure mecum, et
Cantabrum indoctum juga ferre nostra, et

Lib. ii. od. 4.

Horace has fifty of this kind, and Pindar is filled with them.

All is noble in Horace, says Dacier in his preface. Would it not be better to say, Sometimes Horace is noble; sometimes he is refined and felicitous? &c.

It seems to me, that it is the misfortune of commentators of all kinds, never to form a precise idea, but to pronounce sounding words which signify nothing. Mons. and Madame Dacier, with all their merit, were very subject to this malady.

But to return to that which depends solely on language: it seems evident, that the Romans and Greeks gave themselves liberties which among us would be intolerable.

Why do we see so many half words at the ends of the lines of Horace, and not one example of this licence in Virgil? Is it not because odes were intended to be sung, and that music concealed this fault? It is very likely that such may be the reason, since in Pindar we see so many words divided between two lines, and none in Homer.

But you will tell me, that minstrels sang the verses of Homer. At Rome, passages of the Eneid were also sung, as stanzas of Ariosto and Tasso are sung in Italy at present. It is clear, according to the example of Tasso, that this was not singing, properly so called, but a declamation nearly resembling some melodious parts of the Gregorian chaunt.

The Greeks took other liberties which are strictly forbidden us. For example, they often repeated in the same page epithets, half-lines, and even whole lines, which prove that they were not tied down to the same correctness as ourselves. The 'podas okus akilles,' the 'olimpiadomata ekontas,' the 'ekibolon Apollona,' &c. sound agreeably to the ear; but if in our modern languages we so often rhymed to the light feet and arrows of Apollo, or to the celestial abodes, we should not be tolerated.

If we made one personage repeat the same words that another has addressed to him, this double repetition would be still more insupportable.

If Tasso had sometimes made use of the Bergamask dialect, sometimes of the patois of Piedmont, and sometimes of that of Genoa, he would have been read by nobody. The Greeks therefore had more facilities for their poetry than are permitted to any other nation; and of all people the French are subjected to the most rigorous constraint.

SECTION III.

There is no complete language; none which can express all our ideas and sensations; their gradations are too numerous and imperceptible. No person can know the precise degree of sentiment which he experiences. For example: under the general name of love and hate, we are obliged to designate a thousand quite different loves and hates; and it is the same with our griefs and pleasures. Thus, like ourselves, all languages are imperfect.

They have all been composed successively and by degrees, according to our necessities. It was the instinct common to all men, which unconsciously composed the first grammars. The Laplanders and negroes, as well as the Greeks, have had occasion to express the past, present, and future, and they have all compassed it; but as assemblies of logicians to form languages have never existed, none could attain to an absolutely regular plan.

All words in all possible languages are necessarily images of sensations; but men having never been able to express what they feel, all has become metaphorical. Everywhere the soul is enlightened; the heart burns; the mind perceives, composes, unites, divides; is alarmed, retires, is dissipated, &c. &c.

All nations have agreed to name the human understanding,—breath, mind, spirit, and soul; a something which they feel without comprehending; just as they call the agitation of the air which they cannot see, wind, breath, spirit, &c.

Among all people, infinite has been the contrary to finite; immensity the contrary to measure: it is in

fact evident, that our five senses have produced all our languages, as well as all our ideas.

The least imperfect are like laws—those which are the least arbitrary are the best. The most complete are necessarily those of the people who have most cultivated society and the arts. Thus the Hebrew should be one of the poorest of languages, like the people who spoke it. How could the Hebrews possess marine terms, who before Solomon never had a boat? How could a people employ terms of philosophy, who were plunged in profound ignorance until they began to learn something in their captivity at Babylon? The language of the Phenicians, whence the Hebrews derived their jargon, must have been very superior, because it was the idiom of a rich, commercial; industrious people, scattered over all the earth.

The most ancient known language ought to be that of the nation the most anciently gathered together. It ought further to be that of a people who have been the least subjugated, or who, having been so, have polished their conquerors; and in this respect the Chinese and Arabian languages are the most ancient of all which are spoken at the present day.

There is no mother tongue. All neighbouring nations have borrowed from one another; but the name of mother tongue has been given to those from which some known idioms are derived. For example: Latin is a mother tongue, in relation to Italian, Spanish, and French; but it was itself derived from the Tuscan, and the Tuscan from the Celtic and Greek.

The finest of all languages should be that which is at once the most copious and sonorous, the most varied in its expression, and the most regular in its metre; that which has most compound words; that which by its prosody best expresses the slow or impetuous movements of the soul; that which most resembles music.

Greek has all these advantages: it has none of the harshness of the Latin, most of the words of which end in *um*, *ur*, and *us*. It has all the pomp of the Spanish with all the softness of the Italian. It has,

above all the living languages of the world, the expression of music, by long and short syllables, and by the number and variety of its accents. Thus, disfigured as it now is in Greece, it may still be regarded as the finest language in the universe.

The finest language cannot be the most known, when the people who speak it are oppressed, few in number, and without commerce with other nations, and when these other nations have cultivated their own languages. Thus the Greek should be less understood than the Arabic, and even than the Turkish.

Of all the languages of Europe, French should be the most general, because it is the most proper for conversation. It has taken its character from the people who speak it.

The French, for near a hundred and fifty years, have been the people by whom society has been the most cultivated, the first who have thrown off all constraint, and the first among whom women have been free, and even sovereigns, while elsewhere only slaves. The syntax of this language, always uniform and admitting of no inversions, is a further facility, which other languages scarcely possess: it is a more current coin than the others, even when it wants weight. The prodigious quantity of agreeably frivolous books, is another reason of the favour this language has obtained in all countries.

Profound books give no scope to a language; we translate them, and learn Newton's philosophy, but we do not, generally speaking, learn English to understand them.

What renders French still more common is the perfection to which the drama has been carried in this country. It is to *Cinna*, *Phædra*, and *Le Misanthrope*, that it owes its prevalence, and not to the conquests of Louis XIV.

It is neither so copious and pliable as the Italian, so majestic as the Spanish, nor so energetic as the English; and yet it has made more way than these three languages, because it is more social, and possesses more agreeable books than they possess. It has

succeeded, like the French cooks, because it has most consulted the general taste.

The same spirit which has led nations to imitate the French in their furniture, distribution of apartments, gardens, dances, and all that is graceful, has also led them to speak their language. The great art of French writers is precisely that of the French women, who set themselves off to greater advantage than the other women of Europe, and who, without being more beautiful, appear so by the art of their dress, and by the noble and simple attractions which they so naturally display.

It is to politeness that this language owes the disappearance of all the traces of its ancient barbarity. All would witness this barbarity who chose to examine it closely. We might see that the number 'vingt' comes from 'viginti,' and that we formerly pronounced the *g* and *t* with a harshness common to all southern nations. From the month of August we have made the month of 'Août.'

It is not long since a German prince, believing that in France we never pronounced the word Augustus or August otherwise, called king Augustus of Poland, king Août.

From 'pavo' we made 'paon;' we pronounced it as 'phaon,' and at present we say 'pan.'

From 'lupus' we have made 'loup,' and we sounded the *p* with an insupportable hardness. All the letters which we have since retrenched in pronunciation, but preserved in writing, belong to our ancient savage customs.

When manners are softened, language is softened also; it was clownish, like ourselves, before Francis I. called the women to court. We might as well speak the ancient Celtic as French of the time of Charles VIII. and Louis XII. German was not more harsh. All imperfect words had a frightful sound; every syllable was pronounced in 'amaient,' 'fesaient,' 'crayaient;' we said 'ils croy-oi-ent.' It was the croaking of a raven, as the emperor Julian said of the Celtic language, rather than the language of men.

Ages are required to scour off this rust. The imperfections which remain would be still intolerable, without the care which we continually take to avoid them, as an able horseman avoids the stones on his road.

Good writers are attentive in combatting vicious expressions, which the ignorance of the people first brought into fashion, and which, adopted by bad authors, still appear in gazettes and public writings. Thus, of the Italian word '*celata*,' which signifies 'helmet,' '*casque*,' the French soldiers in Italy made the word '*salade*;' so that when they said, "*Il a pris sa salade*," it was not known whether the person spoken of had taken his helmet, or his lettuce. Gazetteers have translated the word '*ridotto*' by '*redoute*,' which signifies a species of fortification; but a man who knows his language will always preserve the word '*assembly*.' '*Bœuf roti*' signifies in English roast beef; and our *maitres d'hotel* at present talk to us of '*roast beef de mouton*.' '*Riding-coat*' means a dress for horseback; we have made '*redingote*' of it, and the people believe that it is an ancient word of the language. It is as well however to adopt this expression with the people, because it signifies a thing in use.

The lowest people, in terms of trades, arts, and necessary things, over-rule the court (if we may venture the comparison) as in things of religion. Those who most despise the vulgar, are obliged to speak and to appear to think with them.

It is not wrong to call things by the names which the vulgar have given them; but we recognise a people naturally more ingenious than another by the proper names which they give to things.

It is merely for want of imagination that a people adapt the same expression to a hundred different ideas. It is a ridiculous barrenness, not to know how to express differently an arm of the sea, an arm of a balance, an arm of a chair; it is poorness of mind, equally to say the head of a nail and the head of an army. The word '*cul*' is found everywhere; a street without a passage in nothing resembles a '*cul de sac*;' a polished man would have called these sorts of streets impassable;

the populace has named them 'culs,' and queens have been obliged to call them so too. The root of an artichoke, the point which terminates the bottom of a lamp, no more resemble a cul than a street without a passage; however, we always say 'cul d'artichaut,' 'cul de lampe,' because the people who first composed the language were coarse. The Italians, who would have been more in the right than ourselves in making use of this word, have guarded against it. The people of Italy, born more ingenious than their neighbours, have formed a language much more copious than ours.

The cry of each animal must have some term to distinguish it. It is an insupportable scarcity, to want an expression to distinguish the cry of a bird from that of an infant, and to call things so different by the same name. The word 'vagissement,' derived from the Latin 'vagitus,' would very well express the cry of children in the cradle.

Ignorance has introduced another custom in all modern languages; a thousand terms no longer signify what they ought. Idiot formerly denoted hermit; at present it means a fool. Epiphany signified superfluities; it is now the feast of the three kings. To baptise is to plunge ourselves in water; we say, to baptise in the name of John or of James.

To these faults almost all languages join barbarous irregularities. 'Garçon,' 'courtisan,' 'coureur,' are honest words; 'garce,' 'courtisane,' 'coureuse,' are offensive. Venus is a charming name; venereal is abominable.

Another effect of the irregularity of these languages, composed by chance in coarse times, is the number of compound words, of which the simple no longer exist. They are children who have lost their father. We have architaves, and no traves; architects, and no tects; there are things ineffable, and not effable. We are intrepid, we are not trepid. We are impudent and insolent, but neither pudent nor solent: 'nonchalant' signifies 'idle;' and 'chalant' one who purchases.

All languages have more or less of these faults; they are all diversified lands, from which the hand

of an able agriculturist knows how to derive an advantage.

Faults in the languages of others, which show the character of a nation, are always overlooked. In France, fashions are introduced in expressions as in caps. An invalid or a physician will say, that he has had a suspicion of fever, to signify that he has had a slight touch of one; soon after, all the nation has suspicions of colics, suspicions of hatred, love, and ridicule. Preachers tell you from the pulpit, that you should have at least a suspicion of the love of God.

That which does most harm to the nobleness of language is not these slight anomalies, which soon pass away, nor the solecisms of good company, into which good authors seldom fall; it is the affectation so much displayed by mediocre authors, of speaking of serious things in the style of conversation. You will read in our new books of philosophy, that we must not throw away the expense of thought; that eclipses have the privilege of frightening people; that Epictetus had an exterior in unison with his soul; and a thousand similar expressions worthy the lacqueys of *Les Précieuses Ridicules*.*

The style of the king's ordinances, and the sentences pronounced in the tribunals, only serve to show from what barbarity we have parted. All conspire to corrupt a language a little extended: authors who spoil by affectation; persons who write in foreign country, and who almost always mingle foreign expressions with their natural tongue; merchants who introduce into conversation the terms of their counting-house, and who tell you that England arms a fleet, but that, per contra, France equips a squadron; beaux esprits of foreign countries, who, not knowing our customs, tell you that a young prince has been very well *éduqué*, instead of saying that he has received a good education.

All language being imperfect, it follows not that we should therefore change our own. We should ex-

* What a glorious harvest of similar affectations might be gathered from the more recent literary productions of Great Britain!—T.

pressly follow the manner in which good authors have written it; for when there is a sufficient number of approved authors, the language is fixed. Thus we can no longer introduce Italian, Spanish, English, into French, without corrupting it. The reason is clear; without any such assistance we can rapidly render into the latter every book which adds either to the pleasure or instruction of the world at large.*

LAUGHTER.

THAT laughter is the sign of joy, as tears are of grief, is doubted by no one that ever laughed. They who seek for metaphysical causes of laughter are not mirthful, while they who are aware that laughter draws the zigomatical muscle backwards towards the ears, are doubtless very learned. Other animals have this muscle as well as ourselves, yet never laugh any more than they shed tears. The stag, to be sure, drops moisture from its eyes when in the extremity of distress, as does a dog when dissected alive; but they weep not for their mistresses or friends, as we do. They break not out like us into fits of laughter at the sight of anything droll. Man is the only animal which laughs and weeps.

* This article is retained, although much of it is interesting exclusively to the French reader, because it exhibits the principle upon which the refinement of the French language has chiefly proceeded. However ably advocated by Voltaire, the practical value of a rule may be doubted, the tendency of which is gradually to correct and generalise a language out of its more special character and properties into a species of philosophical mean. It is possibly preferable, that every language should hold fast to its most distinguishing idioms, and retain its "pure wells" of speech "undefiled." It is however of the nature of French minds to think otherwise in respect to all great particulars—polity, modes, morals, and manners, as well as language; they seek and would constitute a standard for all of them. Napoleon in this respect was as much a Frenchman as Voltaire. The results are sometimes good, if occasionally doubtful; as the Code Napoleon is likely to prove to very distant posterity. The acknowledgment and development of grand general principles cannot be too uniform; the underwood of thought, opinion, and expression, is often better left alone to its native aspect and luxuriance.—T.

As we weep only when we are afflicted, and laugh only when we are gay, certain reasoners have pretended, that laughter springs from pride, and that we deem ourselves superior to that which we laugh at. It is true that man, who is a risible animal, is also a proud one; but it is not pride which produces laughter. A child who laughs heartily, is not merry because he regards himself as superior to those who excite his mirth; nor, laughing when he is tickled, is he to be held guilty of the mortal sin of pride. I was eleven years of age when I read to myself, for the first time, the *Amphitryon* of Molière, and laughed until I nearly fell backward. Was this pride? We are seldom proud when alone. Was it pride which caused the master of the golden ass to laugh when he saw the ass eat his supper? He who laughs is joyful at the moment, and is prompted by no other cause.

It is not all joy which produces laughter: the greatest enjoyments are serious. The pleasures of love, ambition, or avarice, make nobody laugh.

Laughter may sometimes extend to convulsions; it is even said that persons may die of laughter. I can scarcely believe it; but certainly there are more who die of grief.

Violent emotions, which sometimes move to tears and sometimes to the appearance of laughter, no doubt distort the muscles of the mouth; this however is not genuine laughter, but a convulsion and a pain. The tears may sometimes be genuine, because the subject is suffering, but laughter it is not. It must have another name, and be called the "*risus sardonicus*"—sardonic smile.

The malicious smile, the '*perfidum ridens*,' is another thing; being the joy which is excited by the humiliation of another. The grin, '*cachinnus*,' is bestowed on those who promise wonders and perform absurdities; it is nearer to hooting than to laughter. Our pride derides the vanity which would impose upon us. They hoot our friend Freron in "*The Scotswoman*,"* rather than laugh

* In the "*Ecosaisse*," the character of an envious, treacherous and malignant man of letters, was avowedly sketched from Freron.—T.

at him. I love to speak of friend Freron, as in that case I laugh unequivocally.

LAW (NATURAL).

B. What is natural law?*

A. The instinct by which we feel justice.

B. What do you call just and unjust?

A. That which appears so to the whole world.

B. The world is made up of a great many heads. It is said that at Lacedemon thieves were applauded, while at Athens they were condemned to the mines.

A. That is all a mere abuse of words, mere logomachy and ambiguity. Theft was impossible at Sparta, where all property was common. What you call theft was the punishment of avarice.

B. It was forbidden for a man to marry his sister at Rome. Among the Egyptians, the Athenians, and even the Jews, a man was permitted to marry his sister by the father's side. It is not without regret that I cite the small and wretched nation of the Jews, who certainly ought never to be considered as a rule for any person, and who (setting aside religion) were never anything better than an ignorant, fanatical, and plundering horde. According to their books, however, the young Tamar, before she was violated by her brother Ammon, addressed him in these words: "I pray thee, my brother, do not so foolishly, but ask me in marriage of my father: he will not refuse thee."

A. All these cases amount to mere laws of convention, arbitrary usages, transient modes. What is essential remains ever the same. Point out to me any country where it would be deemed respectable or decent to plunder me of the fruits of my labour, to break a solemn promise, to tell an injurious lie, to slander, murder, or poison, to be ungrateful to a benefactor, or to beat a father or mother presenting food to you.

* This dialogue is almost taken entire from conversations between A. B. and C.—Conversation iv.

B. Have you forgotten that Jean Jaques, one of the fathers of the modern church, has said, "The first person who dared to inclose and cultivate a piece of ground, was an enemy of the human race; that he ought to be exterminated; and that the fruits of the earth belonged to all, and the land to none?" Have we not already examined this proposition, so beautiful in itself and so conducive to the happiness of society?

A. Who is this Jean Jaques? It is certainly not John the Baptist, nor John the Evangelist, nor James the greater, nor James the less; he must inevitably be some witling of a Hun, to write such abominable impertinence, or some ill-conditioned, malicious "bèfo magro," who is never more happy than when sneering at what all the rest of the world deem most valuable and sacred. For instead of damaging and spoiling the estate of a wise and industrious neighbour, he had only to imitate him, and induce every head of a family to follow his example, in order to form in a short time a most flourishing and happy village. The author of the passage quoted seems to me a thoroughly unsocial animal.

B. You are of an opinion then, that by insulting and plundering the good man, for surrounding his gardens and farm-yard with a quickset hedge, he has offended against natural law.

A. Yes, most certainly; there is, I must repeat, a natural law; and it consists in neither doing ill to another, nor rejoicing at it, when from any cause whatsoever it befalls him.

B. I conceive that man neither loves ill nor does it with any other view than to his own advantage. But so many men are urged on to obtain advantage to themselves by the injury of another; revenge is a passion of such violence; there are examples of it so terrible and fatal; and ambition, more terrible and fatal still, has so drenched the world with blood; that when I survey the frightful picture, I am tempted to confess, that a man is a being truly diabolical. I may certainly possess, deeply rooted in my heart, the notion of what is just and unjust; but an Attila, whom St Leon-
 . . .

to his and pays his court to; a Phocas, whom St. Gregory flatters with the most abject meanness; an Alexander VI. polluted by so many incests, murders, and poisonings, and with whom the feeble Louis XII., commonly called "the good," enters into the most strict and base alliance; a Cromwell, whose protection cardinal Mazarin eagerly solicits, and to gratify whom he expels from France the heirs of Charles I. cousins-german of Louis XIV.;—these, and a thousand similar examples, easily to be found in the records of history, totally disturb and derange my ideas, and I no longer know what I am doing or where I am.

A. Well; but should the knowledge that storms are coming prevent our enjoying the beautiful sunshine and gentle and fragrant gales of the present day? Did the earthquake that destroyed half the city of Lisbon prevent your making a very pleasant journey from Madrid? If Attila was a bandit, and cardinal Mazarin a knave, are there not some princes and ministers respectable and amiable men? Has it not been remarked, that in the war of 1701, the council of Louis the XIV. consisted of some of the most virtuous of mankind? The duke of Beauvilliers, the marquis de Torcy, marshal Villars, and finally Chamillart, who was not indeed considered a very able but always an honourable man. Does not the idea of just and unjust still subsist? It is in fact on this that all laws are founded. The Greeks call laws, "the daughters of heaven," which means simply, the daughters of nature. Have you no laws in your country?

B. Yes; some good, and others bad.

A. Where could you have taken the idea of them; but from the notions of natural law which every well-constructed mind has within itself? They must have been derived from these or nothing.*

* Certainly; and in proportion as particular law departs from this "common" or unwritten law—this simple "do as you would be done by" sense of justice—will it approximate to injustice, oppression, and chicanery, however protected by great wigs, robes, and furred gowns, which happily are beginning to lose a part of their ability to "hide all."—T.

B. You are right; there is a natural law, but it is still more natural to many people to forget or neglect it.

A. It is natural also to be one-eyed, hump-backed, lame, deformed, and sickly; but we prefer persons well-made and healthy.

B. Why are there so many one-eyed and deformed minds?

A. Hush! Consult however the article OMNIPOTENCE.

LAW (SALIC).

HE who says that the salic law was written with a pen from the wing of a two-headed eagle, by Pharamond's almoner, on the back of the patent containing Constantine's donation, was not perhaps very much mistaken.

It is, say the doughty lawyers, the fundamental law of the French empire. The great Jerome Bignon, in his book on "The Excellence of France," says,* that this law is derived from natural law, according to the great Aristotle, because "in families it was the father who governed, and no dower was given to daughters; as we read in relation to the father, mother, and brothers of Rebecca."

He asserts,† that the kingdom of France is so excellent, that it has religiously preserved this law, recommended both by Aristotle and the Old Testament. And to prove this excellence of France, he observes also, that the emperor Julian thought the wine of Surêne admirable.

But in order to demonstrate the excellence of the Salic law, he refers to Froissart, according to whom, the twelve peers of France said, that "the kingdom of France is of such high nobility, that it never ought to pass in succession to a female."

It must be acknowledged that this decision is not a little uncivil to Spain, England, Naples, and Hungary,

* Page 288, &c.

† Page 9.

and more than all the rest to Russia, which has seen on its throne four empresses in succession.

The kingdom of France is of great nobility; no doubt it is: but that of Spain, of Mexico, and Peru, is also of great nobility, and there is great nobility also in Russia.

It has been alleged, that sacred scripture says, the lilies neither toil nor spin; and thence it has been inferred, that women ought not to reign in France. This certainly is another instance of powerful reasoning; but it has been forgotten that the leopards, which are (it is hard to say why) the arms of England, spin no more than the lilies which are (it is equally hard to say why) the arms of France. In a word, the circumstance that lilies have never been seen to spin, does not absolutely demonstrate the exclusion of females from the throne to have been a fundamental law of the Gauls.

Of Fundamental Laws.

The fundamental law of every country is, that if people are desirous of having bread, they must sow corn; that if they wish for cloathing, they must cultivate flax and hemp; that every owner of a field should have the uncontrolled management and dominion over it, whether that owner be male or female; that the half-barbarous Gaul should kill as many as ever he can of the wholly barbarous Franks, when they come from the banks of the Maine, which they have not the skill and industry to cultivate, to carry off his harvests and his flocks; without doing which the Gaul would either become a serf of the Frank, or be assassinated by him.

It is upon this foundation that an edifice is well supported. One man builds upon a rock, and his house stands firm; another on the sands, and it falls to the ground. But a fundamental law, arising from the fluctuating inclinations of mankind, and yet at the same time irrevocable, is a contradiction in terms, a mere creature of imagination, a chimera, an absurdity; the power that makes the laws can change them. The

Golden Bull was called 'the fundamental law of the empire.' It was ordained that there should never be more than seven Teutonic electors, for the very satisfactory and decisive reason that a certain Jewish chandelier had had no more than seven branches, and that there are no more than seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. This fundamental law had the epithet 'eternal' applied to it by the all-powerful authority and infallible knowledge of Charles IV. God however did not think fit to allow of this assumption of 'eternal' in Charles's parchments. He permitted other German emperors, out of their all-powerful authority and infallible knowledge, to add two branches to the chandelier, and two presents to the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. Accordingly the electors are now nine in number.

It was a very fundamental law that the disciples of the Lord Jesus should possess no private property, but have all things in common. There was afterwards a law, that the bishops of Rome should be very rich, and that the people should chuse them. The last fundamental law is, that they are sovereigns, and elected by a small number of men clothed in scarlet, and constituting a society absolutely unknown in the time of Jesus. If the emperor, king of the Romans, always august, was sovereign master of Rome in fact, as he is according to the style of his patents and heraldry, the pope would be his grand almoner, until some other law, for ever irrevocable, was announced, to be destroyed in its turn by some succeeding one.

I will suppose (what may very possibly and naturally happen) that an emperor of Germany may have no issue but an only daughter, and that he may be a quiet worthy man, understanding nothing about war. I will suppose, that if Catherine II. does not destroy the Turkish empire, which she has severely shaken in the very year in which I am now writing my reveries (the year 1771) the Turk will come and invade this good prince, notwithstanding his being cherished and beloved by all his nine electors; that his daughter puts herself at the head of the troops with two young electors deeply enamoured of her; that she beats the Otto-

mans, as Deborah beat general Sisera, and his three hundred thousand soldiers, and his three thousand chariots of war, in a little rocky plain at the foot of mount Tabor; that this warlike princess drives the mussulman even beyond Adrianople; that her father dies through joy at her success, or from any other cause; that the two lovers of the princess induce their seven colleagues to crown her empress, and that all the princes of the empire, and all the cities give their consent to it;—what, in this case, becomes of the fundamental and eternal law which enacts, that the holy Roman empire cannot possibly pass from the lance to the distaff, that the two-headed eagle cannot spin, and that it is impossible to sit on the imperial throne without breeches? The old and absurd law would be derided, and the heroic empress reign at once in safety and in glory.

How the Salic Law came to be established.

We cannot contest the custom which has indeed passed into law, that decides against daughters inheriting the crown in France while there remains any male of the royal blood. This question has been long determined, and the seal of antiquity has been put to the decision. Had it been expressly brought from heaven, it could not be more revered by the French nation than it is. It certainly does not exactly correspond with the gallant courtesy of the nation; but the fact is, that it was in strict and rigorous observance before ever the nation was distinguished for its gallant courtesy.

The president Henault repeats, in his Chronicle, what had been stated at random before him, that Clovis digested the Salic law in 511, the very year in which he died. I am very well disposed to believe that he actually did digest this law, and that he knew how to read and write, just as I am to believe that he was only fifteen years old when he undertook the conquest of the Gauls; but I do sincerely wish that any one would show me in the library of St. Germain-des-

Prés, or of St. Martin, the original document of the Salic law actually signed Clovis, or Clodovic, or Hildovic; from that we should at least learn his real name, which no body at present knows.

We have two editions of this Salic law; one by a person of the name of Herold, the other by Francis Pithou; and these are different, which is by no means a favourable presumption. When the text of a law is given differently in two documents, it is not only evident that one of the two is false, but it is highly probable that they are both so. No custom or usage of the Franks was written in our early times, and it would be excessively strange that the law of the Salii should have been so. This law, moreover, is in Latin, and it does not seem at all probable, that in the swamps between Swabia and Batavia, Cloyis, or his predecessors, should speak Latin.

It is supposed that this law has reference to the kings of France; and yet all the learned are agreed, that the Sicambri, the Franes, and the Salii, had no kings, nor indeed any hereditary chiefs.

The title of the Salic law begins with these words, 'In Christi nomine,' in the name of Christ. It was therefore made out of the Salic territory, as Christ was no more known by these barbarians, than by the rest of Germany and all the countries of the north.

This law is stated to have been drawn up by four distinguished lawyers of the Franc nation; these, in Herold's edition, are called Vuisogast, Arogast, Salegast, and Vuindogast. In Pithou's edition, the names are somewhat different. It has been unluckily discovered that these names are the old names, somewhat disguised, of certain cantons of Germany.

In whatever period this law was framed in bad Latin, we find, in the article relating to allodial or freehold lands, "that no part of Salic land can be inherited by women." It is clear that this pretended law was by no means followed. In the first place, it appears from the formulæ of Marculphus, that a father might leave his allodial land to his daughter, renoun-

ing "a certain Salic law which is impious and abominable."

Secondly, if this law be applied to fiefs, it is evident that the English kings, who were not of the Norman race, obtained all their great fiefs in France only through daughters.

Thirdly, if it is alleged to be necessary that a fief should be possessed by a man, because he was able as well as bound to fight for his lord; this itself shows that the law could not be understood to affect the rights to the throne. All feudal lords might fight just as well for a queen as for a king. A queen was not obliged to follow the practice so long in use, to put on a cuirass, and cover her limbs with armour, and set off trotting against the enemy upon a cart-horse.

It is certain therefore, that the Salic law could have no reference to the crown, neither in connection with allodial lands, nor feudal holding and service.

Mezerai says, "the imbecility of the sex precludes their reigning." Mezerai speaks here neither like a man of sense nor politeness. History positively and repeatedly falsifies his assertion. Queen Anne of England, who humbled Louis XIV.; the empress-queen of Hungary, who resisted king Louis XV.; Frederick the Great, the elector of Bavaria, and various other princes; Elizabeth of England, who was the strength and support of our great Henry; the empress of Russia, of whom we have spoken already; all these decidedly show, that Mezerai is not more correct than he is courteous in his observation. He could scarcely help knowing, that queen Blanche was in fact the reigning monarch under the name of her son; as Anne of Bretagne was under that of Louis XII.*

* The good government of queens has been explained a little epigrammatically, by the assertion, that when women reign, men govern, and vice versa; and it must be confessed, that the Bourbon regimen, with its eternal establishment of sultanas, has fully countenanced the latter half of the observation. The sex however must not be abandoned to Mezerai and Chesterfield: there are plenty of examples to prove, that women can govern, and govern ably.—T.

Veli, the last writer of the history of France, and who on that very account ought to be the best, as he possessed all the accumulated materials of his predecessors, did not however always know how to turn his advantages to the best account. He inveighs with bitterness against the judicious and profound Rapin de Thoyras, and attempts to prove to him, that no princess ever succeeded to the crown while any males remained who were capable of succeeding. That we all know perfectly well, and Thoyras never said the contrary.

In that long age of barbarism, when the only concern of Europe was to commit usurpations and to sustain them, it must be acknowledged, that kings being often chiefs of banditti, or warriors armed against those bandittis; it was not possible to be subject to the government of a woman. Whoever was in possession of a great war-horse would engage in the work of rapine and murder only under the standard of a man mounted upon a great horse like himself. A buckler or ox-hide served for a throne. The caliphs governed by the koran, the popes were deemed to govern by the gospel. The south saw no woman reign before Joan of Naples, who was indebted for her crown entirely to the affection of the people for king Robert, her grandfather, and to their hatred of Andrew her husband. This Andrew was in reality of royal blood, but had been born in Hungary, at that time in a state of barbarism. He disgusted the Neapolitans by his gross manners, intemperance, and drunkenness. The amiable king Robert was obliged to depart from immemorial usage, and declare Joan alone sovereign by his will, which was approved by the nation.

In the north we see no queen reigning in her own right before Margaret of Waldemar, who governed for some months in her own name about the year 1377.

Spain had no queen in her own right before the able Isabella in 1461.

In England, the cruel and bigoted Mary, daughter of Henry VIII. was the first woman who inherited the

throne,* as the weak and criminal Mary Stuart was in Scotland in the sixteenth century.

The immense territory of Russia had no female sovereign before the widow of Peter the Great.

The whole of Europe, and indeed I might say the whole world, was governed by warriors in the time when Philip de Valois supported his right against Edward III. This right of a male who succeeded to a male, seemed the law of all nations. "You are grandson of Philip the Fair," said Valois to his competitor, "but as my right would be superior to that of the mother, it must be still more decidedly superior to that of the son. Your mother, in fact, could not communicate a right which she did not possess."

It was therefore perfectly recognised in France, that a prince of the blood royal, although in the remotest possible degree, should be heir to the crown in exclusion even of the daughter of the king. It is a law on which there is now not the slightest dispute whatever. Other nations have, since the full and universal recognition of this principle among ourselves, adjudged the throne to princesses. But France has still observed its ancient usage. Time has conferred on this usage the force of the most sacred of laws. At what time the Salic law was framed or interpreted, is not of the slightest consequence: it does exist, it is respectable, it is useful; and its utility has rendered it sacred.

Examination whether Daughters are in all Cases deprived of every Species of Inheritance by this Salic Law.

I have already bestowed the empire on a daughter in defiance of the Golden Bull. I shall have no difficulty in conferring on a daughter the kingdom of France. I have a better right to dispose of this realm than pope Julian II. who deprived Louis XII. of it,

* A great struggle was made for the empress Matilda, granddaughter of Henry I.; but had she succeeded in the first instance, her son, Henry II., would probably still have been the reigning monarch.—T.

and transferred it by his own single authority to the emperor Maximilian. I am better authorized to plead in behalf of the daughters of the house of France, than pope Gregory XIII. and the cordelier Sextus-Quintus were to exclude from the throne our princes of the blood, under the pretence actually urged by these excellent priests, that Henry IV. and the princes of Condé were a 'bastard and detestable race' of Bourbon,—refined and holy words, which deserve ever to be remembered, in order to keep alive the conviction of all we owe to the bishops of Rome. I may give my vote in the states-general, and no pope certainly can have any suffrage on it. I therefore give my vote without hesitation, some three or four hundred years from the present time, to a daughter of France; then the only descendant remaining in a direct line from Hugh Capet. I constitute her queen, provided she shall have been well educated, have a sound understanding, and be no bigot. I interpret in her favour that law which declares "que fille ne doit mie succeder,"—that a daughter must in no case come to the succession. I understand by the words, that she must in no case succeed, as long as there shall be any male. But on failure of males, I prove that the kingdom belongs to her by nature, which ordains it, and for the benefit of the nation.

I invite all good Frenchmen to show the same respect as myself for the blood of so many kings. I consider this as the only method of preventing factions which would dismember the state. I propose that she shall reign in her own right, and that she shall be married to some amiable and respectable prince, who shall assume her name and arms, and who, in his own right, shall possess some territory which shall be annexed to France; as we have seen Maria Theresa of Hungary united in marriage to Francis duke of Lorraine, the most excellent prince in the world.

What Celt will refuse to acknowledge her, unless we should discover some other beautiful and accomplished princess of the issue of Charlemagne, whose family was expelled by Hugh Capet, notwithstanding the

Salic law? or unless indeed we should find a princess fairer and more accomplished still, an unquestionable descendant from Clovis, whose family was before expelled by Pepin, his own domestic, notwithstanding, be it again remembered, the Salic law.

I shall certainly find no involved and difficult intrigues necessary to obtain the consecration of my royal heroine at Rheims, or Chartres, or in the chapel of the Louvre—for either would effectually answer the purpose; or even to dispense with any consecration at all. For monarchs reign as well when not consecrated, as when consecrated. The kings and queens of Spain observe no such ceremony.

Among all the families of the king's secretaries, no person will be found to dispute the throne with this Capetian princess. The most illustrious houses are so jealous of each other, that they would infinitely prefer obeying the daughter of kings, to being under the government of one of their equals.

Recognised by the whole of France, she will receive the homage of all her subjects with a grace and majesty which will induce them to love as much as they revere her; and all the poets will compose verses in her honour.*

LAW, CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL.

THE following notes were found among the papers of a lawyer, and are perhaps deserving some consideration:—

That no ecclesiastical law should be of any force

* It must be confessed, that the Salic and Turkish laws, in regard to female succession, forms an admirable defence against foreign family importation, as also against disputable claims to the crown. Whatever broils may have disturbed either France or Turkey, previous to the revolution of the former, the adherence to the line has been nearly uniform. This, at first sight, may appear a benefit; but it may be reasonably doubted, whether the long retention of a family thus uncrossed and unchecked by any mental stream of a different quality, be not infinitely more pernicious than an occasional change of family. The contrary is certainly not proved, either by the House of Bourbon or of Ottoman. Voltaire's fictitious princess and extreme case are very pleasant.—T.

until it has received the express sanction of government. It was upon this principle that Athens and Rome were never involved in religious quarrels.

These quarrels fall to the lot of those nations only that have never been civilised, or that have afterwards been again reduced to barbarism.

That the magistrate alone should have authority to prohibit labour on festivals, because it does not become priests to forbid men from cultivating their fields.

That everything relating to marriages depends solely upon the magistrate, and that the priests should be confined to the august function of blessing them.

That lending money at interest is purely an object of the civil law, as that alone presides over commerce.

That all ecclesiastical persons should be, in all cases whatever, under the perfect control of government, because they are subjects of the state.

That men should never be so disgracefully ridiculous as to pay to a foreign priest the first year's revenue of an estate, conferred by citizens upon a priest who is their fellow-citizen.

That no priest should possess authority to deprive a citizen even of the smallest of his privileges, under the pretence that that citizen is a sinner; because the priest, himself a sinner, ought to pray for sinners, and not to judge them.

That magistrates, cultivators, and priests, should alike contribute to the expenses of the state, because all alike belong to the state.

That there should be only one system of weights and measures, and usages.

That the punishments of criminals should be rendered useful. A man that is hanged is no longer useful; but a man condemned to the public works is still serviceable to his country, and a living lecture against crime.

That the whole law should be clear, uniform, and precise; to interpret it is almost always to corrupt it.

That nothing should be held infamous but vice.

That taxes should be imposed always in just proportion.

That law should never be in contradiction to usage; for, if the usage is good, the law is worth nothing.*

LAWS.

SECTION I.

It is difficult to point out a single nation living under a system of good laws. This is not attributable merely to the circumstance that laws are the productions of men, for men have produced works of great utility and excellence; and those who invented and brought to perfection the various arts of life were capable of devising a respectable code of jurisprudence. But laws have proceeded, in almost every state, from the interest of the legislator, from the urgency of the moment, from ignorance, and from superstition, and have accordingly been made at random, and irregularly, just in the same manner in which cities have been built. Take a view of Paris, and observe the contrast between that quarter of it where the fish-market (Halles) is situated, the St. Pierre-aux-bœufs, the streets Brise-miche and Pet-au-diable, and the beauty and splendour of the Louvre and the Tuilleries. This is a correct image of our laws.

It was only after London had been reduced to ashes that it became at all fit to be inhabited. The streets, after that catastrophe, were widened and straightened. If you are desirous of having good laws, burn those which you have at present, and make fresh ones.

The Romans were without fixed laws for the space of three hundred years; they were obliged to go and request some from the Athenians, who gave them such bad ones that they were almost all of them soon abrogated. How could Athens itself be in possession of a judicious and complete system? That of Draco was necessarily abolished, and that of Solon soon expired.

Our customary or common law of Paris is interpreted differently by four-and-twenty commentaries, which

* See the commentary on *L'Esprit des Lois*, vol. i. Politics and Legislation.

decidedly proves, the same number of times, that it is ill conceived. It is in contradiction to a hundred and forty other usages, all having the force of law in the same nation, and all in contradiction to each other. There are therefore, in a single department in Europe, between the Alps and the Pyrenees, more than forty distinct small populations, who call themselves fellow-countrymen, but who are in reality as much strangers to each other as Tonquin is to Cochin China.

It is the same in all the provinces of Spain. It is in Germany much worse. No one there knows what are the rights of the chief or of the members. The inhabitant of the banks of the Elbe is connected with the cultivator of Swabia only in speaking nearly the same language, which, it must be admitted, is rather an unpolished and coarse one.

The English nation has more uniformity; but having extricated itself from servitude and barbarism only by occasional efforts, by fits and convulsive starts, and having even in its state of freedom retained many laws formerly promulgated either by the great tyrants who contended in rivalry for the throne; or the petty tyrants who seized upon the power and honours of the prelacy, it has formed altogether a body of laws of great vigour and efficacy, but which still exhibits many bruises and wounds very clumsily patched and plastered.

The intellect of Europe has made greater progress within the last hundred years than the whole world had done before since the days of Brama, Fohi, Zoroaster, and the Thaut of Egypt. What then is the cause that legislation has made so little?

After the fifth century, we were all savages. Such are the revolutions which take place on the globe: brigands pillaging, and cultivators pillaged, made up the masses of mankind from the recesses of the Baltic Sea to the Straits of Gibraltar; and when the Arabs made their appearance in the south, the desolation of ravage and confusion was universal.

In our department of Europe, the small number, being composed of daring and ignorant men, used to conquest and completely armed for battle, and the greater num-

ber, composed of ignorant unarmed slaves, scarcely any one of either class knowing how to read or write—not even Charlemagne himself—it happened very naturally, that the Roman church, with its pen and ceremonies, obtained the guidance and government of those who passed their life on horseback, with their lances couched and the morion on their heads.

The descendants of the Sicambri, the Burgundians, the Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Lombards, Heruli, &c. felt the necessity of something in the shape of laws. They sought for them where they were to be found. The bishops of Rome knew how to make them in Latin. The barbarians received them with greater respect in consequence of not understanding them. The decretals of the popes, some genuine, others most impudently forged, became the code of the new governors, ‘regas;’ lords, ‘leuds;’ and barons, who had appropriated the lands. They were the wolves who suffered themselves to be chained up by the foxes. They retained their ferocity, but it was subjugated by credulity, and the fear which credulity naturally produces. Gradually Europe, with the exception of Greece and what still belonged to the eastern empire, became subjected to the dominion of Rome, and the poet’s verse might be again applied as correctly as before,—

Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam.

VIRGIL’S *Eneid*, i. 286.

The subject world shall Rome’s dominion own,
And prostrate shall adore the nation of the gown.

DRYDEN.

Almost all treaties being accompanied by the sign of the cross,* and by an oath which was frequently administered over some relics, everything was thus brought within the jurisdiction of the church. Rome, as metropolitan, was supreme judge in causes, from the Cimbrian Chersonesus to Gascony; and a thousand feudal lords, uniting their own peculiar usages with the canon law, produced in the result that mon-

* See the article ABUSE.

strous jurisprudence of which there at present exist so many remains.

Which would have been best—no laws at all, or such as these?

It was beneficial to an empire of more vast extent than that of Rome, to remain for a long time in a state of chaos; for as every valuable institution was still to be formed, it was easier to build a new edifice than to repair one whose ruins were looked upon as sacred.

The legislatrix of the north, in 1767, collected deputies from all the provinces which contained about twelve hundred thousand square leagues. There were Pagans, Mahometans of the sect of Ali, and others of the sect of Omar, and about twelve different sects of christians. Every law was distinctly proposed to this new synod; and if it appeared conformable to the interest of all the provinces, it then received the sanction of the empress and the nation.

The first law that was brought forward and carried, was a law of toleration, that the Greek priest might never forget that the Latin priest was his fellow man; that the mussulman might bear with his pagan brother; and that the Roman catholic might not be tempted to sacrifice his brother the presbyterian.

The empress wrote with her own hand, in this grand council of legislation,—“Among so many different creeds, the most injurious error would be intolerance;”

It is now unanimously agreed, that there is in a state only one authority; that the proper expressions to be used are ‘civil power’ and ‘ecclesiastical discipline;’ and that the allegory of the two swords is a dogma of discord.

She began with emancipating the serfs of her own particular domain.

She emancipated all those of the ecclesiastical domains. She might thus be said out of slaves to have created men.

The prelates and monks were paid out of the public treasury.

Punishments were proportioned to crimes, and the

punishments were of a useful character; offenders were for the greater part condemned to labour on public works, as the dead man can be of no service to the living.

The torture was abolished, because it punishes a man before he is known to be guilty; because the Romans never put any to the torture but their slaves; and because torture leads to saving the guilty and destroying the innocent.

This important business had advanced thus far, when Mustapha III., the son of Mahmoud, obliged the empress to suspend her code and proceed to fighting.

SECTION II.

I have attempted to discover some ray of light in the mythological times of China which precede Fohi, but I have attempted in vain.

At the period however in which Fohi flourished, which was about three thousand years before the new and common era of our north-western part of the world, I perceive mild and wise laws already established by a beneficent sovereign. The ancient books of the five kings, consecrated by the respect of so many ages, treat of the institution of agriculture, of pastoral economy, of domestic economy, of that simple astronomy which regulates the different seasons, and of the music which, by different modulations, summoned men to their respective occupations. Fohi flourished, beyond dispute, more than five thousand years ago. We may therefore form some judgment of the great antiquity of an immense population, thus instructed by an emperor on every topic that could contribute to their happiness. In the laws of that monarch I see nothing but what is mild, useful, and amiable.

I was afterwards induced to inspect the code of a small nation, or horde, which arrived about two thousand years after the period we have been speaking of, from a frightful desert on the banks of the river Jordan, in a country inclosed and bristled with peaked mountains. These laws have been transmitted down to our-

selves, and are daily held up to us as the model of wisdom. The following are a few of them:—

“Not to eat the pelican, nor the ossifrage, nor the griffin, nor the ixion, nor the eel, nor the hare, because the hare ruminates, and has not its foot cloven.”

“Against men’s sleeping with their wives during certain periodical affections, under pain of death to both of the offending parties.”

“To exterminate without pity all the unfortunate inhabitants of the land of Canaan, who were not even acquainted with them; to slaughter the whole, to massacre all, men and women, old men, children, and animals, for the greater glory of God.”

“To sacrifice to the Lord whatever any man shall have devoted as an anathema to the Lord, and to slay it without power of ransom.”

“To burn widows who, not being able to be married again to their brothers-in-law, had otherwise consoled themselves on the highway or elsewhere,* &c. &c.

A jesuit, who was formerly a missionary among the cannibals, at the time when Canada still belonged to the king of France, related to me that once, as he was explaining these Jewish laws to his neophytes, a little impudent Frenchman, who was present at the catechising, cried out, “They are the laws of cannibals.” One of the Indians replied to him, “You are to know, Mr. Flippant, that we are people of some decency and kindness. We never had among us any such laws; and if we had not some kindness and decency, we should treat you as an inhabitant of Canaan, in order to teach you civil language.”

It appears upon a comparison of the code of the Chinese with that of the Hebrews, that laws naturally

* This was the case of Tamar, who, having veiled herself, went out and enticed her father-in-law Judah, who did not recognise her. She in consequence became pregnant, and was condemned to be burnt. The sentence was so much the more cruel, as, if it had been carried into execution, our Saviour, who descends in a direct line from Judah and Tamar, would never have been born, at least unless all the events of the universe had been arranged in a different manner.

follow the manners of the people who make them. If vultures and doves had laws, they would undoubtedly be of a very different character.

SECTION III.

Sheep live in society very mildly and agreeably; their character passes for being a very gentle one, because we do not see the prodigious quantity of animals devoured by them. We may however conceive, that they eat them very innocently and without knowing it, just as we do when we eat Sassenege cheese. The republic of sheep is a faithful image of the age of gold.

A hen-roost exhibits the most perfect representation of monarchy. There is no king comparable to a cock. If he marches haughtily and fiercely in the midst of his people, it is not out of vanity. If the enemy is advancing, he does not content himself with issuing an order to his subjects to go and be killed for him, in virtue of his unfailing knowledge and resistless power; he goes in person himself, ranges his young troops behind him, and fights to the last gasp. If he conquers, it is himself who sings the 'Te Deum.' In his civil or domestic life there is nothing so gallant, so respectable, and so disinterested. Whether he has in his royal beak a grain of corn or a grub-worm, he bestows it on the first of his female subjects that comes within his presence. In short Solomon in his harem was not to be compared to a cock in a farm-yard.

If it be true that bees are governed by a queen to whom all her subjects make love, that is a more perfect government still.

Ants are considered as constituting an excellent democracy. This is superior to every other state, as all are, in consequence of such a constitution, on terms of equality, and every individual is employed for the happiness of all.

The republic of beavers is superior even to that of ants, at least if we may judge by their performances in masonry.

Monkeys are more like merry-andrews than a regu-

larly governed people; they do not appear associated under fixed and fundamental laws, like the species previously noticed.

We resemble monkeys more than any other animals in the talent of imitation, in the levity of our ideas, and in that inconstancy which has always prevented our having uniform and durable laws.

When nature formed our species, and imparted to us a certain portion of instinct, self-love for our own preservation, benevolence for the safety and comfort of others, love which is common to every class of animal being, and the inexplicable gift of combining more ideas than all the inferior animals together;—after bestowing on us this out-fit, she said to us, “Go, and do the best you can.”

There is not a good code of laws in any single country. The reason is obvious: laws have been made for particular purposes, according to time; place, exigences, and not with general and systematic views.

When the exigences upon which laws were founded are changed or removed, the laws themselves become ridiculous. Thus the law which forbade eating pork and drinking wine was perfectly reasonable in Arabia, where pork and wine are injurious; but at Constantinople it is absurd.

The law which confers the whole fief or landed property on the eldest son, is a very good one in a time of general anarchy and pillage. The eldest is then the commander of the castle, which sooner or later will be attacked by brigands; the younger brothers will be his chief officers, and the labourers his soldiers. All that is to be apprehended is, that the younger brother may assassinate or poison the elder, his liege lord, in order to become himself the master of the premises: but such instances are uncommon, because nature has so combined our instincts and passions, that we feel a stronger horror against assassinating our elder brother, than we feel a desire to succeed to his authority and estate. But this law, which was suitable enough to the owners of the gloomy, secluded, and turreted

mansions, in the days of Chilperic, is detestable when the case relates wholly to the division of family property in a civilized and well-governed city.

To the disgrace of mankind, the laws of play or gaming are, it is well known, the only ones that are throughout just, clear, inviolable, and carried into impartial and perfect execution. Why is the Indian who laid down the laws of a game of chess willingly and promptly obeyed all over the world, while the decretals of the popes, for example, are at present an object of horror and contempt? The reason is, that the inventor of chess combined everything with caution and exactness for the satisfaction of the players, and that the popes in their decretals looked solely to their own advantage. The Indian was desirous at once of exercising the minds of men and furnishing them with amusement; the popes were desirous of debasing and brutifying them. Accordingly, the game of chess has remained substantially the same for upwards of five thousand years, and is common to all the inhabitants of the earth, while the decretals are known only at Spolète, Orvieto, and Loretto, and are there secretly despised even by the most shallow and contemptible of the practitioners.

SECTION IV.

During the reigns of Vespasian and Titus, when the Romans were embowelling the Jews, a very rich Israelite fled with all the gold he had accumulated by his occupation as a usurer, and conveyed to Eziongeber the whole of his family, which consisted of his wife, then far advanced in years, a son, and a daughter; he had in his train two eunuchs, one of whom acted as a cook, and the other a sa labourer and vine-dresser; and a pious Essenian, who knew the Pentateuch completely by heart, acted as his almoner. All these embarked at the port of Eziongebir, traversed the sea commonly called Red, although it is far from being so, and entered the Persian Gulph to go in search of the land of Ophir, without knowing where it was. A dreadful tempest soon after this came on, which drove the Hebrew

family towards the coast of India ; and the vessel was wrecked on one of the Maldivé islands now called, Padrabranca, but which was at that time uninhabited.

The old usurer and his wife were drowned ; the son and daughter, the two eunuchs, and the almoner were saved. They took as much of the provisions out of the wreck as they were able ; erected for themselves little cabins on the island, and lived there with considerable convenience and comfort. You are aware that the island of Padrabranca is within five degrees of the line, and that it furnishes the largest cocoa-nuts and the best pine-apples in the world ; it was pleasant to have such a lovely asylum at a time when the favourite people of God were elsewhere exposed to persecution and massacre ; but the Essenian could not refrain from tears when he reflected, that perhaps those on that happy island were the only Jews remaining on the earth, and that the seed of Abraham was about to be annihilated.

"Its restoration depends entirely upon you," said the young Jew ; "marry my sister." "I would willingly," said the almoner, "but it is against the law. I am an Essenian ; I have made a vow never to marry ; the law enjoins the strictest observance of a vow ; the Jewish race may come to an end, if it must be so ; but in order to prevent it, I will certainly not marry your sister, beautiful and amiable as I admit she is."

"My two eunuchs," resumed the Jew, "can be of no service in this affair ; I will therefore marry her myself, if you have no objection ; and you shall bestow the usual marriage benediction."

"I had a hundred times rather be embowelled by the Roman soldiers," said the almoner, "than to be instrumental to your committing incest ; were she your sister by the father's side only, the law would allow of your marriage ; but as she is your sister by the same mother, such a marriage would be abominable."

"I can readily admit," returned the young man, "that it would be a crime at Jerusalem, where I might see many other young women one of whom I might marry ; but in the isle of Padrabranca, where I see nothing but

cocoas, pine-apples, and oysters, I consider the case to be very allowable. The Jew accordingly married his sister, and had a daughter by her, notwithstanding all the protestations of the Essenian; and this was the only offspring of a marriage which one of them thought very legitimate, and the other absolutely abominable.

After the expiration of fourteen years the mother died; and the father said to the almoner: "Have you at length got rid of your old prejudices? Will you marry my daughter?" "God preserve me from it," said the Essenian. "Then," said the father, "I will marry her myself, come what will of it; for I cannot bear that the seed of Abraham should be totally annihilated." The Essenian, struck with inexpressible horror at such a proposition, would dwell no longer with a man who thus violated and defiled the law, and fled. The new-married man loudly called after him, saying, "Stay here, my friend. I am observing the law of nature, and doing good to my country; do not abandon your friends." The other suffered him to call, and continue to call, in vain; his head was full of the law; and he stopped not till he had reached, by swimming, another island.

This was the large island of Attola, highly populous and civilized; as soon as he landed he was made a slave. He complained bitterly of the inhospitable manner in which he had been received; he was told that such was the law, and that ever since the island had been very nearly surprised and taken by the inhabitants of that of Ada, it had been wisely enacted that all strangers landing at Attola should be made slaves. "It is impossible that can ever be a law," said the Essenian, "for it is not in the Pentateuch." He was told in reply, "that it was to be found in the digest of the country," and he remained a slave: fortunately he had a kind and wealthy master, who treated him very well, and to whom he became strongly attached.

Some murderers once came to the house in which he lived; to kill his master and carry off his treasure. They enquired of the slaves if he was at home, and

had much money there. "We assure you on our oaths," said the slaves, "that he is not at home." But the Essenian said, "The law does not allow lying; I swear to you that he is at home, and that he has a great deal of money." The master was in consequence robbed and murdered; the slaves accused the Essenian, before the judges, of having betrayed his master; the Essenian said, that he would tell no lies, and that nothing in the world should induce him to tell one; and he was hanged.

This history was related to me, with many similar ones, on the last voyage I made from India to France. When I arrived, I went to Versailles on business, and saw in the street a beautiful woman, followed by many others who were also beautiful. "Who is that beautiful woman?" said I to the barrister who had accompanied me; for I had a cause then depending before the parliament of Paris about some dresses that I had had made in India, and I was desirous of having my counsel as much with me as possible. "She is the daughter of the king," said he, "she is amiable and beneficent; it is a great pity that in no case or circumstance whatever, such a woman as that can become queen of France." "What!" I replied, "if we had the misfortune to lose all her relations and the princes of the blood (which God forbid) would not she, in that case, succeed to the throne of her father?" "No," said the counsellor; "the Salic law expressly forbids it." "And who made this Salic law?" said I to the counsellor. "I do not at all know," said he; "but it is pretended, that among an ancient people called the Salii, who were unable either to read or write, there existed a written law, which enacted, that in the Salic territory a daughter should not inherit any freehold." "And I," said I to him, "I abolish that law; you assure me that this princess is amiable and beneficent; she would therefore, should the calamity occur of her being the last existing personage of royal blood, have an incontestable right to the crown: my mother inherited from her father, and in the case supposed, I

am resolved that this princess shall inherit from hers."

On the ensuing day my suit was decided in one of the chambers of parliament, and I lost everything by a single vote; my counsellor told me that in another chamber I should have gained everything by a single vote. "That is a very curious circumstance," said I: "at that rate each chamber proceeds by a different law." "That is just the case," said he: "there are twenty-five commentaries on the common law of Paris; that is to say, it is proved five-and-twenty times over, that the common law of Paris is equivocal, and if there had been five-and-twenty chambers of judges, there would be just as many different systems of jurisprudence." "We have a province," continued he, "fifteen leagues distant from Paris, called Normandy, where the judgment in your cause would have been very different from what it was here." This statement excited in me a strong desire to see Normandy; and I accordingly went thither with one of my brothers. At the first inn we met with a young man who was almost in a state of despair. I enquired of him what was his misfortune; he told me it was having an elder brother. "Where," said I, "can be the great calamity of having an elder brother? The brother I have is my elder, and yet we live very happily together." "Alas! sir," said he to me, "the law of this place gives everything to the elder brother, and of course leaves nothing for the younger ones." "That," said I, "is enough, indeed, to disturb and distress you; among us everything is divided equally; and yet sometimes brothers have no great affection for one another."

These little adventures occasioned me to make some observations, which of course were very ingenious and profound, upon the subject of laws; and I easily perceived that it was with them as it is with our garments: I must wear a Doliman at Constantinople, and a coat at Paris.

"If all human laws," said I, "are matters of convention, nothing is necessary but to make a good bargain." The citizens of Delhi and Agra say, that

they have made a very bad one with Tamerlane: those of London congratulate themselves on having made a very good one with king William of Orange. A citizen of London once said to me, 'Laws are made by necessity, and observed through force.' I asked him if force did not also occasionally make laws, and if William, the bastard and conqueror, had not chosen simply to issue his orders without condescending to make any convention or bargain with the English at all. "True," said he, "it was so: we were oxen at that time; William brought us under the yoke, and drove us with a goad; since that period we have been metamorphosed into men; the horns however remain with us still, and we use them as weapons against every man who attempts making us work for him and not for ourselves."

With my mind full of all these reflections, I could not help feeling a sensible gratification in thinking, that there exists a natural law entirely independent of all human conventions:—The fruit of my labour ought to be my own: I am bound to honour my father and mother; I have no right over the life of my neighbour, nor has my neighbour over mine, &c. But when I considered, that from Chedorlaomer to Mentzel,* colonel of hussars, every one kills and plunders his neighbour according to law, and with his patent in his pocket, I was greatly distressed.

I was told that laws existed even among robbers, and that there were laws also in war. I asked what were the laws of war. "They are," said some one, "to hang up a brave officer for maintaining a weak post without cannon; to hang a prisoner, if the enemy have hanged any of yours; to ravage with fire and sword those villages which shall not have delivered up their means of subsistence by an appointed day, agreeably to the commands of the gracious sovereign of the

* Chedorlaomer was king of the Elamites in the time of Abraham.

Mentzel was a famous chief of Austrian partizans in the war of 1741. At the head of five thousand men, he effected the capitulation of Munich, on the thirteenth of February, 1742.

vicinage." "Good," said I, "that is the true spirit of laws." After acquiring a good deal of information, I found that there existed some wise laws, by which a shepherd is condemned to nine years imprisonment and labour in the galleys, for having given his sheep a little foreign salt. My neighbour was ruined by a suit on account of two oaks belonging to him, which he had cut down in his wood, because he had omitted a mere form or technicality with which it was almost impossible that he should have been acquainted; his wife died in consequence in misery; and his son is languishing out a painful existence. I admit that these laws are just, although their execution is a little severe; but I must acknowledge I am no friend to laws which authorize a hundred thousand neighbours loyally to set about cutting one another's throats. It appears to me, that the greater part of mankind have received from nature a sufficient portion of what is called common sense for making laws, but that the whole world has not justice enough to make good laws.

Simple and tranquil cultivators, collected from every part of the world, would easily agree that every one should be free to sell the superfluity of his own corn to his neighbour, and that every law contrary to it is both inhuman and absurd; that the value of money, being the representative of commodities, ought no more to be tampered with than the produce of the earth; that the father of a family should be master in his own house; that religion should collect men together, to unite them in kindness and friendship, and not to make them fanatics and persecutors; and that those who labour ought not to be deprived of the fruits of their labour, to endow superstition and idleness. In the course of an hour thirty laws of this description, all of a nature beneficial to mankind, would be unanimously agreed to.

But let Tamerlane arrive and subjugate India, and you will then see nothing but arbitrary laws. One will oppress and grind down a whole province, merely to

enrich one of Tamerlane's collectors of revenue; another will screw up to the crime of high treason, speaking contemptuously of the mistress of a rajah's chief valet; a third will extort from the farmer a moiety of his harvest, and dispute with him the right to the remainder; in short, there will be laws by which a Tartar serjeant will be authorized to seize your children even in the cradle—to make one, who is robust, a soldier—to convert another, who is weak, into a eunuch—and thus to leave the father and mother without assistance and without consolation.

But which would be preferable, being Tamerlane's dog, or his subject? It is evident, that the condition of his dog would be by far the better one.

LAWS (SPIRIT OF).

It would be admirable, if from all the books upon laws by Bodin, Hobbes, Grotius, Puffendorf, Montesquieu, Barbeyrac, and Burlamaqui, some general law was adopted by the whole of the tribunals of Europe upon succession, contracts, revenue offences, &c. &c. But neither the citations of Grotius, nor those of Puffendorf, nor those of the Spirit of Laws, have ever led to a sentence in the Chatelet of Paris or the Old Bailey of London. We weary ourselves with Grotius, pass some agreeable moments with Montesquieu; but if process be deemed advisable, we run to our attorney.

It has been said that the letter kills, but that in the spirit there is life. It is decidedly the contrary in the book of Montesquieu; the spirit is diffusive, and the letter teaches nothing.

*False Citations in the Spirit of Laws, and false Consequences drawn from them by the Author.**

It is observed, that "the English, to favour liberty,

* The detections of several minor inaccuracies are omitted, the work of Montesquieu having undergone much minute inspection since the publication of this article. Notices of such errors are

have abstracted all the intermediate powers which formed part of their constitution."

On the contrary, they have preserved the upper house, and the greater part of the jurisdictions which stand between the crown and the people.

"The establishment of a vizier in a despotic state is a fundamental law."

A judicious critic has remarked, that this is as much as to say, that the office of the mayors of the palace was a fundamental office. Constantine was highly despotic, yet had no grand vizier. Louis XIV. was less despotic and had no first minister. The popes are sufficiently despotic, and yet seldom possess them.

"The sale of employments is good in monarchical states, because it makes it the profession of persons of family to undertake employments, which they would not fulfil from disinterested motives alone."

Is it Montesquieu who writes these odious lines? What! because the vices of Francis I. deranged the public finances, must we sell to ignorant young men the right of deciding upon the honour, fortune, and lives of the people? What! is it good, in a monarchy, that the office of magistrate should become a family provision? If this infamy were salutary, some other country would have adopted it as well as France; but there is not another monarchy on earth which has merited the opprobrium. This monstrous anomaly sprang from the prodigality of a ruined and spendthrift monarch, and the vanity of certain citizens whose fathers possessed money; and the wretched abuse has always been weakly attacked, because it was felt that reimbursement would be difficult. It would be a thousand times better, said a great jurisconsult, to sell the treasure of all the convents and the plate of all the churches, than to sell justice. When Francis I. seized the silver grating of St. Martin, he did harm to no one; St. Martin complained not, and parted very easily with his screen; but to sell the place of judge, and at

alone retained, as stand connected with false or illogical consequences.—P.

the same time make the judge swear that he has not bought it, is a base sacrilege.*

Let us complain that Montesquieu has dishonoured his work by such paradoxes—but at the same time let us pardon him. His uncle purchased the office of a provincial president, and bequeathed it to him. Human nature is to be recognised in everything, and there are none of us without weakness.

“Behold how industriously the Muscovite government seeks to emerge from despotism.”

Is it in abolishing the patriarchate and the active militia of the strelitzes; in being the absolute master of the troops, of the revenue, and of the church, of which the functionaries are paid from the public treasury alone? or is it proved by making laws to render that power as sacred as it is mighty? It is melancholy, that in so many citations and so many maxims, the contrary of what is asserted should be almost always the truth.†

“The luxury of those who possess the necessities of life only, will be Zero; the luxury of those who possess as much again, will be equal to one; of those who possess double the means of the latter, three; and so on.”

The latter will possess three times the excess beyond the necessities of life; but it by no means follows that he will possess three times as many luxuries; for he may be thrice as avaricious, or may employ the superfluity in commerce, or in portions to his daughters. These propositions are not affairs of arithmetic, and such calculations are miserable quackery.‡

“The Samnites had a fine custom, which must have produced admirable results. The young man de-

* And is not the ‘*noli episcopari*’ a profanation of the same kind? It would seem as if in some systems of policy falsehood was necessary and not contingent—intentional and added by way of zest.—T.

† Voltaire is clearly right in regard to Russia; and everything which has occurred since he wrote tends to prove it. Instead of emerging from despotism, the existing policy of Russia is to foster despotism throughout the world.—T.

‡ Voltaire seems quite aware of the axiom, that in political arithmetic two and two do not invariably make four.—T.

declared the most worthy, chose a wife where he pleased; he who had the next number of suffrages in his favour followed, and so on throughout."

The author has mistaken the Samites, a people of Scythia, for the Samnites, in the neighbourhood of Rome. He quotes a fragment of Nicholas de Demas, preserved by Stobæus: but is the said Nicholas a sufficient authority? This fine custom would moreover be very injurious in a well-governed country; for if the judges should be deceived in the young man declared the most worthy; if the female selected should not like him; or if he were objectionable in the eyes of the girl's parents,—very fatal results might follow.

"On reading the admirable work of Tacitus on the manners of the Germans, it will be seen that it is from them the English drew the idea of their political government. That admirable system originated in the woods."

The houses of peers and of commons, and the English courts of law and equity, found in the woods! Who would have supposed it? Without doubt, the English owe their squadrons and their commerce to the manners of the Germans; and the sermons of Tillotson to those pious German sorcerers who sacrificed their prisoners, and judged of their success in war by the manner in which the blood flowed. We must believe also, that the English are indebted for their fine manufactures to the laudable practice of the Germans who, as Tacitus observes, preferred robbery to toil.

"Aristotle ranked among monarchies the governments both of Persia and of Lacedemon; but who cannot perceive that the one was a despotism, the other a republic?"

Who, on the contrary, cannot perceive, that Lacedemon had a single king for four hundred years, and two kings until the extinction of the Heraclidæ, a period of about a thousand years? We know that no king was despotic of right, not even in Persia; but every bold and dissembling prince who amasses money, becomes despotic in a little time, either in Persia or Lacedemon; and therefore Aristotle distinguishes every state pos-

possessing perpetual and hereditary chiefs, from republics.

"People of warm climates are timid, like old men; those of cold countries are courageous, like young ones."

We should take great care how general propositions escape us. No one has ever been able to make a Laplander or an Esquimaux warlike, while the Arabs in fourscore years conquered a territory which exceeded that of the whole Roman empire. This axiom of M. Montesquieu is equally erroneous with all the rest on the subject of climate.

"Louis XIII. was extremely averse to pass a law which made the negroes of the French colonies slaves; but when he was given to understand that it was the most certain way of converting them, he consented."

Where did the author pick up this anecdote? The first arrangement for the treatment of the negroes was made in 1673, thirty years after the death of Louis XIII. This resembles the refusal of Francis I. to listen to the project of Christopher Columbus, who had discovered the Antilles before he was born.

"The Romans never exhibited any jealousy on the score of commerce. It was as a rival, not as a commercial nation, that they attacked Carthage."

It was both as a warlike and as a commercial nation, as the learned Huet proves in his "Commerce of the Ancients," when he shows that the Romans were addicted to commerce a long time before the first punie war.

"The sterility of the territory of Athens established a popular government there, and the fertility of that of Lacedemon an aristocratical one."

Whence this chimera? From enslaved Athens we still derive cotton, silk, rice, corn, oil, and skins; and from the country of Lacedemon nothing. Athens was twenty times richer than Lacedemon. With respect to the comparative fertility of the soil, it is necessary to visit those countries to appreciate it; but the form of a government is never attributed to the greater or less fertility. Venice had very little corn when her no-

bles governed. Genoa is assuredly not fertile, and yet is an aristocracy. Geneva is a more popular state, and has not the means of existing a fortnight upon its own productions. Sweden, which is equally poor, has for a long time submitted to the yoke of a monarchy; while fertile Poland is aristocratical. I cannot conceive how general rules can be established, which may be falsified upon the slightest appeal to experience.

“In Europe empires have never been able to exist.”

Yet the Roman empire existed for five hundred years, and that of the Turks has maintained itself since the year 1453.

“The duration of the great empires of Asia is principally owing to the prevalence of vast plains.”

M. Montesquieu forgets the mountains which cross Natolia and Syria, Caucasus, Taurus, Ararat, Immaus, and others, the ramifications of which extend throughout Asia.

* * * * *

After thus convincing ourselves that errors abound in the Spirit of Laws; after everybody is satisfied that this work wants method, and possesses neither plan nor order, it is proper to enquire into that which really forms its merit, and which has led to its great reputation.

In the first place, it is written with great wit, whilst the authors of all the other books on this subject are tedious. It was on this account that a lady, who possessed as much wit as Montesquieu, observed, that his book was “*l'esprit sur les lois*.” It can never be more correctly defined.*

A still stronger reason is, that the book exhibits grand views, attacks tyranny, superstition, and grinding taxation—three things which mankind detest. The author consoles slaves in lamenting their fetters, and the slaves in return applaud him.

One of the most bitter and absurd of his enemies,

* This bon mot cannot be translated, which arises from the French word ‘*esprit*’ signifying both wit and spirit, or essence. “It is wit (*esprit*) upon laws,” said madame de Deffand, “instead of the Spirit of Laws.”—T.

who contributed most by his rage to exalt the name of Montesquieu throughout Europe, was the Journalist of the Convulsionaries. He called him a Spinozist and deist; that is to say, he accused him at the same time of not believing in God, and of believing in God alone.

He reproaches him with his esteem for Marcus Aurelius, Epictetus, and the stoics; and for not loving jansenists—the abbé de St. Cyran and father Quesnel.

He asserts, that he has committed an unpardonable crime in calling Bayle a great man.

He pretends, that the Spirit of Laws is one of those monstrous works with which France has been inundated since the Bull Unigenitus, which has corrupted the consciences of all people.

This tatterdemalion from his garret, deriving at least three hundred per cent. from his ecclesiastical gazette, declaimed like a fool against interest upon money at the legal rate. He was seconded by some pedants of his own sort; and the whole concluded in their resembling the slaves placed at the foot of the statue of Louis XIV.; they are crushed, and gnaw their own flesh in revenge.

Montesquieu was almost always in error with the learned, because he was not learned; but he was always right against the fanatics and promoters of slavery. Europe owes him eternal gratitude.

LENT:

SECTION I.

Our questions on Lent will merely regard the police. It appeared useful to have a time in the year in which we should eat fewer oxen, calves, lambs, and poultry. Young fowls nor pigeons are not ready in February and March, the time in which Lent falls; and it is good to cease the carnage for some weeks in countries in which pastures are not so fertile as those of England and Holland.

The magistrates of police have very wisely ordered, that meat should be a little dearer at Paris during this.

time, and that the profit should be given to the hospitals. It is an almost insensible tribute paid by luxury and gluttony to indigence; for it is the rich who are not able to keep Lent—the poor fast all the year.

There are very few farming men who eat meat once a month. If they ate of it every day, there would not be enough for the most flourishing kingdom. Twenty millions of pounds of meat a day would make seven thousand three hundred millions of pounds a year. This calculation is alarming.

The small number of the rich, financiers, prelates, principal magistrates, great lords, and great ladies, who condescend to have *maigre** served at their tables, fast during six weeks on soles, salmon, turbot, sturgeons, &c.

One of our most famous financiers had couriers, who for a hundred crowns brought him fresh sea-fish every day to Paris. This expense supported the couriers, the dealers who sold the horses, the fishermen who furnished the fish, the makers of nets, constructors of boats, and the druggists from whom were procured the refined spices which give to fish a taste superior to that of meat.

Lucullus could not have kept Lent more voluptuously.

It should further be remarked, that fresh sea-fish, in coming to Paris, pays a considerable tax.

The secretaries of the rich, their valets-de-chambre, ladies' maids, and stewards, partake of the dessert of Cræsus, and fast as deliciously as he.

It is not the same with the poor: not only if for four sous they partake of a small portion of tough mutton do they commit a great sin, but they seek in vain for this miserable aliment. What do they therefore feed upon?—Chesnuts, rye bread, the cheeses which they have pressed from the milk of their cows, goats or sheep, and some few of the eggs of their poultry.

There are churches which forbid them the eggs and the milk. What then remains for them to eat? No-

* Why give the name of 'maigre' to fish fatter than pullets, which cause terrible indigestions?

thing. They consent to fast ; but they consent not to die. It is absolutely necessary that they should live, if it be only to cultivate the lands of the fat rectors and lazy monks.

We therefore ask, if it belongs not to the magistrates of the police of the kingdom, charged with watching over the health of the inhabitants, to give them permission to eat the cheeses which their own hands have formed, and the eggs which their fowls have laid ?

It appears that milk, eggs, cheese, and all which can nourish the farmer, are regulated by the police, and not by a religious rule.

We hear not that Jesus Christ forbade omelets to his apostles : he said to them,—“ Eat such things as are set before you.” *

The holy church has ordained Lent, but in quality of the church it commands it only to the heart ; it can inflict spiritual pains alone ; it cannot as formerly burn a poor man, who, having only some rusty bacon, put a slice of it upon a piece of black bread the day after Shrove Tuesday.

Sometimes in the provinces the pastors go beyond their duty, and forgetting the rights of the magistracy, undertake to go among the innkeepers and cooks, to see if they have not some ounces of meat in their saucepans, some old fowls on their hooks, or some eggs in a cupboard ; for eggs are forbidden in Lent. They intimidate the poor people, and proceed to violence towards the unfortunates, who know not that it belongs alone to the magistracy to interfere. It is an odious and punishable inquisition.

The magistrates alone can be rightly informed of the more or less abundant provisions required by the poor people of the provinces. The clergy have occupations more sublime. Should it not therefore belong to the magistrates to regulate what the people eat in Lent ? Who should inspect into the legal consumption of a country if not the police of that country ?

* St. Luke, x. 8.

SECTION II.

Did the first who were advised to fast put themselves under this regimen by order of the physician for indigestion?

The want of appetite which we feel in grief—was it the first origin of fast-days prescribed in melancholy religions?

Did the Jews take the custom of fasting from the Egyptians, all of whose rites they imitated, including flagellation and the scape-goat?

Why fasted Jesus for forty days in the desert, where he was tempted by the devil,—by the 'Chathbull?' St. Matthew remarks, that after this Lent he was hungry; he was therefore not hungry during the fast.

Why, in days of abstinence, does the Roman church consider it a crime to eat terrestrial animals, and a good work to be served with soles and salmon? The rich papist who shall have five hundred francs worth of fish upon his table shall be saved, and the poor wretch dying with hunger, who shall have eaten four sous worth of salt pork, shall be damned.

Why must we ask permission of the bishop to eat eggs? If a king ordered his people never to eat eggs, would he not be thought the most ridiculous of tyrants? How strange the aversion of bishops to omelets!

Can we believe, that among papists there have been tribunals imbecile, dull, and barbarous enough, to condemn to death poor citizens, who had no other crimes than that of having eaten of horseflesh in Lent? The fact is but too true: I have in my hands a sentence of this kind. What renders it still more strange is, that the judges who passed such sentences believed themselves superior to the Iroquois.

Foolish and cruel priests, to whom do you order Lent? Is it to the rich? they take good care to observe it. Is it to the poor? they keep Lent all the year. The unhappy peasant scarcely ever eats meat, and has not wherewithal to buy fish.

Fools that you are, when will you correct your absurd laws?*

LEPROSY, &c.

THIS article relates to two powerful divinities; one ancient and the other modern, which have reigned in our hemisphere. The reverend father Dom Calmet, a great antiquarian, that is, a great compiler of what was said in former times and what is repeated at the present day, has confounded lues with leprosy. He maintains that it was the lues with which the worthy Job was afflicted, and he supposes, after a confident and arrogant commentator of the name of Pineida, that the lues and leprosy are precisely the same disorder. Calmet is not a physician, neither is he a reasoner, but he is a citer of authorities; and in his vocation of commentator, citations are always substituted for reasons. When Astruc, in his history of lues, quotes authorities that the disorder came in fact from St. Domingo, and that the Spaniards brought it from America, his citations are somewhat more conclusive.

There are two circumstances which, in my opinion, prove that lues originated in America; the first is, the multitude of authors, both medical and surgical, of the sixteenth century, who attest the fact; and the second is, the silence of all the physicians and all the poets of antiquity, who never were acquainted with this disease, and never had even a name for it. I here speak of the silence of physicians and of poets as equally demonstrative. The former, beginning with Hippocrates, would not have failed to describe this malady, to state its symptoms, to apply to it a name, and explore some remedy. The poets, equally malicious and sarcastic as physicians are studious and investigative, would have detailed, in their satires, with minute particularity, all the symptoms and consequences of this

* This is a pleasant exhibition of the ci-devant state of France, and of the fasting system under the old régime; yet there are French politicians who would restore all this inconsistent farcicality to the letter.—F.

dreadful disorder: you do not find however a single verse in Horace or Catullus, in Martial or Juvenal, which has the slightest reference to lues, although they expatiate on all the effects of debauchery with the utmost freedom and delight.

It is very certain that the small-pox was not known to the Romans before the sixth century; that the American lues was not introduced into Europe until the fifteenth century; and that leprosy is as different from those two maladies, as palsy from St. Guy's or St. Vitus's dance.

The leprosy was a scabious disease of a dreadful character. The Jews were more subject to it than any other people living in hot climates, because they had neither linen, nor domestic baths. These people were so negligent of cleanliness and the decencies of life, that their legislators were obliged to make a law to compel them even to wash their hands.

All that we gained in the end by engaging in the crusades, was the leprosy; and of all that we had taken, that was the only thing that remained with us. It was necessary everywhere to build Lazarettos, in which to confine the unfortunate victims of a disease at once pestilential and incurable.

Leprosy, as well as fanaticism and usury, had been a distinguishing characteristic of the Jews. These wretched people having no physicians, the priests took upon themselves the management and regulation of leprosy, and made it a concern of religion. This has occasioned some indiscreet and profane critics to remark, that the Jews were no better than a nation of savages under the direction of their jugglers. Their priests in fact never cured the leprosy, but they cut off from society those who were infected by it, and thus acquired a power of the greatest importance. Every man labouring under this disease was imprisoned, like a thief or a robber; and thus a woman who was desirous of getting rid of her husband, had only to secure the sanction of the priest, and the unfortunate husband was shut up—it was the 'lettre de cachet' of the day. The Jews, and those by whom they were governed, were

so ignorant, that they imagined the moth-holes in garments, and the mildew upon walls, to be the effects of leprosy. They actually conceived their houses and clothes to have the leprosy; thus the people themselves, and their very rags and hovels, were all brought under the rod of the priesthood.

One proof, that at the time of the first introduction of lues, there was no connection between that disorder and leprosy, is, that the few lepers that remained at the conclusion of the fifteenth century, were offended at any kind of comparison between themselves and those who were affected by lues:

Some of the persons thus affected, were in the first instance sent to the hospital for lepers, but were received by them with indignation. The lepers presented a petition to be separated from them; as persons imprisoned for debt, or affairs of honour, claim a right not to be confounded with the common herd of criminals.

We have already observed, that the parliament of Paris, on the sixth of March in 1496, issued an order, by which all persons labouring under lues, unless they were citizens of Paris, were enjoined to depart within twenty-four hours under pain of being hanged. This order was neither christian, legal, nor judicious; but it proves that lues was regarded as a new plague which had nothing in common with leprosy; as lepers were not hanged for residing in Paris, while those afflicted by lues were so.

Men may bring the leprosy on themselves by their uncleanness and filth, just as is done by a species of animals to which the very lowest of the vulgar may too naturally be compared; but with respect to lues, it was a present made to America by nature. We have already reproached this same nature, at once so kind and so malicious, so sagacious and yet so blind, with defeating her own object by thus poisoning the source of life; and we still sincerely regret that we have found no solution of this dreadful difficulty.

We have seen elsewhere, that man in general, one with another, or (as it is expressed) on the average,

does not live above two-and-twenty years; and during these two-and-twenty years, he is liable to two-and-twenty thousand evils, many of which are incurable.

Yet even in this dreadful state, mankind still strut and figure on the stage of life; they make love at the hazard of destruction; and intrigue, carry on war, and form projects, just as if they were to live in luxury and delight for a thousand ages.

LETTERS (MEN OF).

IN the barbarous times, when the Franks, Germans, Bretons, Lombards, and Spanish Mosarabians knew neither how to read nor write, we instituted schools and universities almost entirely composed of ecclesiastics, who, knowing only their own jargon, taught this jargon to those who would learn it. Academies were not founded until long after: the latter have despised the follies of the schools, but they have not always dared to oppose them, because there are follies which we respect when they are attached to respectable things.

Men of letters who have rendered the most service to the small number of thinking beings scattered over the earth, are isolated scholars, true sages shut up in their closets, who have neither publicly disputed in the universities, nor said things by halves in the academies; and such have almost all been persecuted. Our miserable race is so created, that those who walk in the beaten path always throw stones at those who would show them a new one.

Montesquieu says, that the Scythians put out the eyes of their slaves, that they might be more attentive to the making of their butter. It is thus that the Inquisition acts, and almost every one is blinded in the countries in which this monster reigns. In England people have had two eyes for more than a hundred years. The French are beginning to open one eye—but sometimes men in place will not even permit us to be one-eyed.

These miserable statesmen are like doctor Balouard

of the Italian comedy, who will only be served by the fool Arlequin, and who fears to have too penetrating a servant.

Compose odes in praise of lord Superbus Fatus, madrigals for his mistress; dedicate a book of geography to his porter,—and you will be well received. Enlighten men, and you will be crushed.

Descartes is obliged to quit his country; Gassendi is calumniated; Arnaud passes his days in exile; all the philosophers are treated as the prophets were among the Jews.

Who would believe, that in the eighteenth century, a philosopher has been dragged before the secular tribunals, and treated as impious by reasoning theologians, for having said, that men could not practise the arts, if they had no hands? I expect that they will soon condemn to the galleys the first who shall have the insolence to say, that a man could not think if he had no head; for a learned bachelor will say to him, the soul is a pure spirit, the head is only matter: God can place the soul in the heel as well as in the brain; therefore I denounce you as a blasphemer.

The great misfortune of a man of letters is not perhaps being the object of the jealousy of his brother scholars, the victim of cabals, and the contempt of the powerful of the world,—it is being judged by fools. Fools sometimes go very far, particularly when fanaticism is joined to folly, and folly to the spirit of vengeance. Further, the great misfortune of a man of letters is generally to hold to nothing. A citizen buys a little situation, and is maintained by his fellow-citizens. If any injustice is done him, he soon finds defenders. The literary man is without aid: he resembles the flying fish: if he rises a little, the birds devour him; if he dives, the fishes eat him up.*

Every public man pays tribute to malignity; but he is repaid in deniers and honours.

* An excellent simile.—T.

LIBEL.

SMALL offensive books are termed libels. These books are usually small, because the authors, having few reasons to give, and usually writing not to inform but mislead, if they are desirous of being read, they must necessarily be brief. Names are rarely used on these occasions, for assassins fear being detected in the employment of forbidden weapons.

In the time of the League and the Fronde, political libels abounded. Every dispute in England produces hundreds; and a library might be formed of those written against Louis XIV.

We have had theological libels for sixteen hundred years; and what is worse, these are esteemed holy by the vulgar. Only see how St. Jérôme treats Rufinus and Vigilantius. The latest libels are those of the Molinists and Jansenists, which amount to thousands. Of all this mass there remains only "The Provincial Letters."

Men of letters may dispute the number of their libels with the theologians. Boileau and Fontenelle, who attacked one another with epigrams, both said, that their chambers would not contain the libels with which they had been assailed. All these disappear like the leaves in autumn. Some people have maintained that anything offensive, written against a neighbour, is a libel.

According to them, the railing attacks which the prophets occasionally sang to the kings of Israel, were defamatory libels to excite the people to rise up against them. As the populace however read but little anywhere, it is believed that these half-disclosed satires never did any great harm. Sedition is produced by speaking to assemblies of the people, rather than by writing for them. For this reason, one of the first things done by queen Elizabeth of England on her accession was, to order that for six months no one should preach without express permission.

The Anti-Cato of Cæsar was a libel, but Cæsar did more harm to Cato by the battle of Pharsalia than by his Diatribes.

The Phillippics of Cicero were libels, but the proscriptions of the Triumvirs were far more terrible libels.

St. Cyril and St. Gregory Nazianzen compiled libels against the emperor Julian, but they were so generous as not to publish them until after his death.

Nothing resembles libels more than certain manifestoes of sovereigns. The secretaries of the sultan Mustapha made a libel of his declaration of war.

God has punished them for it: but the same spirit which animated Cæsar, Cicero, and the secretaries of Mustapha, reigns in all the reptiles who spin libels in their garrets. "*Natura est semper sibi consona.*" Who would believe that the souls of Garasse, Nonotte, Paulian, Freron, and of Langliviet, calling himself La Beaumelle, were in this respect of the same temper as those of Cæsar, Cicero, St. Cyril, and of the secretary of the grand seignor? Nothing is however more certain.

LIBERTY.

EITHER I am much deceived, or Locke has very well defined liberty to be 'power.' I am still further deceived, or Collins, a celebrated magistrate of London, is the only philosopher who has profoundly developed this idea, while Clarke has only answered him as a theologian. Of all that has been written in France on liberty, the following little dialogue has appeared to me the most comprehensive.

A. A battery of cannon is discharged at our ears:—have you the liberty to hear it, or not to hear it, as you please?

B. Undoubtedly I cannot hinder myself from hearing it.

A. Are you willing that these cannon shall take off your head and those of your wife and daughter who walk with you?

B. What a question ! I cannot, at least while I am in my right senses, wish such a thing ; it is impossible.

A. Good ; you necessarily hear these cannon, and you necessarily wish not for the death of yourself and your family by a discharge from them. You have neither the power of not hearing it, nor the power of wishing to remain here.

B. That is clear.*

A. You have, I perceive, advanced thirty paces to be out of the reach of the cannon ; you have had the power of walking these few steps with me.

B. That is also very clear.

A. And if you had been paralytic, you could not have avoided being exposed to this battery ; you would necessarily have heard, and received a wound from the cannon ; and you would have as necessarily died.

B. Nothing is more true.

A. In what then consists your liberty, if not in the power that your body has acquired of performing that which from absolute necessity your will requires ?

B. You embarrass me. Liberty then is nothing more than the power of doing what I wish ?

A. Reflect ; and see whether liberty can be understood otherwise.

B. In this case, my hunting dog is as free as myself ; he has necessarily the will to run when he sees a hare ; and the power of running, if there is nothing the matter with his legs. I have therefore nothing above my dog : you reduce me to the state of the beasts.

A. These are poor sophisms, and they are poor

* A witless person, in a small, decent, polite, and above all well-reasoned writing, objects, that if the prince orders B. to remain exposed to the cannon, he will remain. Yes, no doubt, if he has more courage, or rather more fear of shame, than love of life, as it often happens. But firstly, we treat here of a very different case. Secondly, when the instinct of the fear of shame overpowers the instinct of self-preservation, the man is as much necessitated to remain exposed to the cannon, as he is necessitated to fly when he is not ashamed to do so. The mean-spirited author was obliged to make ridiculous objections, and to say injurious things ; and philosophers feel themselves necessitated to laugh at and to pardon him.

sophists who have instructed you. You are unwilling to be free like your dog. Do you not eat, sleep, and propagate like him, and nearly in the same attitudes? Would you smell otherwise than by your nose? Why would you possess liberty differently from your dog?

B. But I have a soul which reasons, and my dog scarcely reasons at all. He has nothing beyond simple ideas, while I have a thousand metaphysical ideas.

A. Well, you are a thousand times more free than he is: you have a thousand times more power of thinking than he has; but still you are not free in any other manner than your dog is free.

B. What! am I not free to will what I like?

A. What do you understand by that?

B. I understand what all the world understands. Is it not every day said, that the will is free?

A. An adage is not a reason: explain yourself better.

B. I understand, that I am free to will as I please.

A. With your permission, that is nonsense; see you not that it is ridiculous to say—I will will? Consequently, you necessarily will the ideas only which are presented to you. Will you be married,—yes or no?

B. Suppose I answer, that I will neither the one nor the other?

A. In that case you would answer like him who said—Some believe cardinal Mazarine dead, others believe him living: I believe neither the one nor the other.

B. Well, I will marry!

A. Aye, that is an answer. Why will you marry?

B. Because I am in love with a young, beautiful, sweet, well-educated, rich girl, who sings very well, whose parents are very honest people, and I flatter myself that I am beloved by her and welcome to the family.

A. There is a reason. You see that you cannot will without a motive. I declare to you that you are free to marry, that is to say, that you have the power of signing the contract, keeping the wedding, and sleeping with your wife.

B. How! I cannot will without a motive? Then what will become of the other proverb—'Sit pro ratione voluntas,'—my will is my reason—I will because I will?

A. It is an absurd one, my dear friend; you would then have an effect without a cause.

B. What! when I play at odd or even, have I a reason for choosing even rather than odd?

A. Undoubtedly.

B. And what is this reason, if you please?

A. It is, that the idea of even is presented to your mind rather than the opposite idea. It would be extraordinary if there were cases in which we will because there is a motive, and others in which we will without one. When you would marry, you evidently perceive the predominant reason for it; you perceive it not when you play at odd or even, and yet there must be one.

B. Therefore, once more, I am not free.

A. Your will is not free, but your actions are. You are free to act when you have the power of acting.

B. But all the books that I have read on the liberty of indifference

A. What do you understand by the liberty of indifference?

B. I understand spitting on the right or the left hand—sleeping on the right or left side—walking up and down four times or five.

A. That would be a pleasant liberty, truly! God would have made you a fine present, much to boast of, certainly! What use to you would be a power which could only be exercised on such futile occasions? But in truth it is ridiculous to suppose the will of willing to spit on the right or left. Not only the will of willing is absurd, but it is certain that several little circumstances determine these acts which you call indifferent. You are no more free in these acts than in others. Yet you are free at all times, and in all places, when you can do what you wish to do.

B. I suspect that you are right. I will think upon it.

LIBERTY OF OPINION.

TOWARDS the year 1707, the time at which the English gained the battle of Saragosa, protected Portugal, and for some time gave a king to Spain, lord Boldmind, a general officer who had been wounded, was at the waters of Barege. He there met with count Medroso, who having fallen from his horse behind the baggage, at a league and a half from the field of battle, also came to take the waters. He was a familiar of the Inquisition, while lord Boldmind was only familiar in conversation. One day after their wine, he held this dialogue with Medroso.

BOLDMIND.

You are then the sergeant of the Dominicans? You exercise a villainous trade.

MEDROSO.

It is true; but I would rather be their servant than their victim, and I have preferred the unhappiness of burning my neighbour to that of being roasted myself.

BOLDMIND.

What a horrible alternative! You were a hundred times happier under the yoke of the Moors, who freely suffered you to abide in all your superstitions, and conquerors as they were, arrogated not to themselves the strange right of sending souls to hell.

MEDROSO.

What would you have? It is not permitted us either to write, speak, or even to think. If we speak, it is easy to misinterpret our words, and still more our writings; and as we cannot be condemned in an auto-da-fé for our secret thoughts, we are menaced with being burned eternally by the order of God himself, if we think not like the jacobins. They have persuaded the government, that if we had common sense the entire state would be in combustion, and the nation become the most miserable upon earth.*

* Precisely as at present.—T.

BOLDMIND.

Do you believe that we English, who cover the seas with vessels, and who go to gain battles for you in the south of Europe, can be so unhappy. Do you perceive that the Dutch, who have ravished from you almost all your discoveries in India, and who at present are ranked as your protectors, are cursed of God for having given an entire liberty to the press, and for making commerce of the thoughts of men? Has the Roman empire been less powerful because Tullius Cicero has written with freedom?

MEDROSO.

Who is this Tullius Cicero? I have never heard his name pronounced at St. Hermandad.

BOLDMIND.

He was a batchelor of the university of Rome, who wrote that which he thought, like Julius Cæsar, Marcus Aurelius, Titus Lucretius Carus, Plinius, Seneca, and other sages.

MEDROSO.

I know none of them; but I am told that the catholic religion, Biscayan and Roman, is lost if we begin to think.

BOLDMIND.

It is not for you to believe it; for you are sure that your religion is divine, and that the gates of hell cannot prevail against it. If that is the case, nothing will ever destroy it.

MEDROSO.

No; but it may be reduced to very little; and it is through having thought, that Sweden, Denmark, all your island, and the half of Germany groan under the frightful misfortune of not being subjects of the pope. It is even said, that if men continue to follow their false lights, they will soon have merely the simple adoration of God and of virtue. If the gates of hell ever prevail so far, what will become of the holy office?

BOLDMIND.

If the first christians had not the liberty of thought, does it not follow that there would have been no christianity?

MENDOSO.

I understand you not.

BOLDMIND.

I readily believe it. I would say, that if Tiberius and the first emperors had fostered jacobins, they would have hindered the first christians from having pens and ink; and had it not been a long time permitted in the Roman empire to think freely, it would be impossible for the christians to establish their dogmas. If therefore christianity was only formed by liberty of opinion, by what contradiction, by what injustice, would you now destroy the liberty on which alone it is founded?

When some affair of interest is proposed to us, do we not examine it for a long time before we conclude upon it? What interest in the world is so great as our eternal happiness, or misery? There are a hundred religions on earth, which all condemn us if we believe your dogmas, which *they* call impious and absurd; why therefore not examine these dogmas?

MENDOSO.

How can I examine them? I am not a jacobin.

BOLDMIND.

You are a man, and that is sufficient.

MENDOSO.

Alas! you are more of a man than I am.

BOLDMIND.

You have only to teach yourself to think: you are born with a mind, you are a bird in the cage of the Inquisition, the holy office has clipped your wings, but they will grow again. He who knows not geometry, can learn it: all men can instruct themselves. Is it shameful to put your soul into the hands of those to whom you would not entrust your money? Dare to think for yourself.

MENDOSO.

It is said, that if the world thought for itself, it would produce strange confusion.

BOLDMIND.

Quite the contrary. When we assist at a spectacle every one freely tells his opinion of it, and the public

peace is not thereby disturbed; but if some insolent protector of a poet would force all people of taste to proclaim that to be good which appears to them bad, blows would follow, and the two parties would throw apples of discord at one another's heads, as once happened at London. Tyrants over mind have caused a part of the misfortunes of the world. We are happy in England only because every one freely enjoys the right of speaking his opinion.

MEDROSO.

We are all very tranquil at Lisbon, where no person dares speak his.

BOLDMIND.

You are tranquil, but you are not happy: it is the tranquillity of galley-slaves, who row in cadence and in silence.

MEDROSO.

You believe then that my soul is at the galleys?

BOLDMIND.

Yes, and I would deliver it.

MEDROSO.

But if I find myself well at the galleys?

BOLDMIND.

Why then you deserve to be there.

LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

WHAT harm can the prediction of Jean Jacques do to Russia?*. Any? We allow him to explain it in a mystical, typical, allegorical sense, according to custom. The nations which will destroy the Russians will possess the belles-lettres, mathematics, wit, and politeness, which degrade man and pervert nature.

* Rousseau predicted the speedy destruction of the empire of Russia, because Peter I. sought to spread the arts and sciences throughout his empire. But unfortunately for the prophet, the arts and sciences existed only in the new capital, and were there almost cultivated by foreign hands alone; yet these lights, though confined to the capital, have contributed to augment the power of Russia, and never has it been less exposed to events which might destroy a great empire, than since the time in which Rousseau prophesied.—*French Ed.*

From five to six thousand pamphlets have been printed in Holland against Louis XIV. none of which contributed to make him lose the battles of Blenheim, Turin, and Ramillies.

In general, we have as natural a right to make use of our pen as our language, at our perils, risk, and fortune. I know many books which fatigue, but I know of none which have done real evil. Theologians, or pretended politicians, cry—"Religion is destroyed, the government is lost, if you print certain truths or certain paradoxes. Never attempt to think, till you have demanded permission from a monk or an officer. It is against good order for a man to think for himself. Homer, Plato, Cicero, Virgil, Pliny, Horace, never published anything but with the approbation of the doctors of the Sorbonne and of the holy Inquisition."

"See into what horrible decay the liberty of the press brought England and Holland. It is true that they possess the commerce of the whole world, and that England is victorious on sea and land; but it is merely a false greatness, a false opulence: they hasten with long strides to their ruin. An enlightened people cannot subsist."

None can reason more justly, my friends; but let us see, if you please, what state has been lost by a book. The most dangerous, the most pernicious of all, is that of Spinoza. Not only in the character of a Jew he attacks the New Testament; but in the character of a scholar he ruins the Old; his system of atheism is a thousand times better composed and reasoned than those of Straton and of Epicurus. We have need of the most profound sagacity to answer to the arguments by which he endeavours to prove, that one substance cannot form another.

Like yourself, I detest this book, which I perhaps understand better than you, and to which you have very badly replied; but have you discovered that this book has changed the face of the world? Has any preacher lost a florin of his income by the publication of the works of Spinoza? Is there a bishop whose rents have diminished? On the contrary, their revenues

have doubled since his time: all the ill is reduced to a small number of peaceable readers, who have examined the arguments of Spinoza in their closets, and have written for or against them works but little known.

For yourselves, it is of little consequence to have caused to be printed,—‘*ad usum Delphini*’—the atheism of Lucretius (as you have already been reproached with doing)—no trouble, no scandal, has ensued from it: so leave Spinoza to live in peace in Holland. Lucretius was left in repose at Rome.

But if there appears among you any new book, the ideas of which shock your own (supposing you have any) or of which the author may be of a party contrary to yours; or what is worse, of which the author may not be of any party at all, then you cry out ‘Fire!’ and let all be noise, scandal, and uproar in your small corner of the earth. There is an abominable man who has printed, that if we had no hands we could not make shoes nor stockings. Devotees cry out, furred doctors assemble, alarms multiply from college to college, from house to house, and why? For five or six pages, about which there will no longer be a question at the end of three months. Does a book displease you? refute it. Does it tire you? read it not.

Oh! say you to me, the books of Luther and Calvin have destroyed the Roman catholic religion in one half of Europe? Why say not also, that the books of the patriarch Photius have destroyed this Roman religion in Asia, Africa, Greece, and Russia?

You deceive yourself very grossly, when you think that you have been ruined by books. The empire of Russia is two thousand leagues in extent, and there are not six men who are aware of the points disputed by the Greek and Latin church. If the monk Luther, John Calvin, and the vicar Zuinglius, had been content with writing, Rome would still subjugate all the states that it has lost; but these people and their adherents ran from town to town, from house to house, exciting the women, and were maintained by princes. Fury which tormented Amata, and which, according to Virgil, whipped her like a top, was not more turbulent.

Know, that one enthusiastic, factious, ignorant, supple, vehement capuchin, the emissary of some ambitious monks, preaching, confessing, communicating, and caballing, will much sooner overthrow a province, than a hundred authors can enlighten it. It was not the Koran which caused Mahomet to succeed: it was Mahomet who caused the success of the Koran.

No—Rome has not been vanquished by books; it has been so by having caused Europe to revolt at its rapacity; by the public sale of indulgences; for having insulted men, and wishing to govern them like domestic animals; for having abused its power to such an excess that it is astonishing a single village remains to it. Henry VIII. Elizabeth, the duke of Saxe, the landgrave of Hesse, the princes of Orange, the Condés and Colignis, have done all, and books nothing. Trumpets have never gained battles, nor caused any walls to fall except those of Jericho.

You fear books, as certain small cantons fear violins. Let us read, and let us dance—these two amusements will never do any harm to the world.

LIFE.

THE following passage is found in the “System de la Nature,” London edition, page 84:—“We ought to define *life*, before we reason concerning *soul*; but I hold it to be impossible to do so.”

On the contrary, I think a definition of life very possible. Life is organization with the faculty of sensation. Thus all animals are said to live. Life is attributed to plants, only by a species of metaphor or catechresis. They are organized and vegetate; but being incapable of sensation, do not properly possess life.

We may however live without actual sensation; for we feel nothing in a complete apoplexy, in a lethargy, or in a sound sleep without dreams, but yet possess the capacity of sensation. Many persons, it is too well known, have been buried alive, like Roman vestals; and it is what happens after every battle, especially in cold countries. A soldier lies without motion, and breath-

less, who, if he were duly assisted, might recover; but to settle the matter speedily, they bury him.

What is this capacity of sensation? Formerly, life and soul meant the same thing, and the one was no better understood than the other; at bottom, is it more understood at present?

In the sacred books of the Jews, soul is always used for life.

“Dixit etiam Deus, producant aquæ reptile animæ viventis.”*

And God said, Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature which hath a living soul.

“Creavit Deus cete grandia, et omnem animam viventem, atque motabilem quam produxerant aquæ.”

And God created great dragons (tannitiim) and every living soul that moveth, which the waters brought forth.

It is difficult to explain the creation of these watery dragons, but such is the text, and it is for us to submit to it.

“Producat terra animam viventem in genere suo, jumenta et reptilia.”†

Let the earth produce the living soul after its kind, cattle, and creeping things.

“Et in quibus est anima vivens, ad vescendum.”‡

And to everything wherein there is a living soul, (every green herb) for meat.

“Et inspiravit in faciem ejus spiraculum vitæ, et factus est homo in animam viventem.”§

And breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul.

“Sanguinem enim animarum vestrarum requiram de manu cunctarum betiarum, et de manu hominis,” &c.

I shall require back your souls from the hands of man and beast.

Souls here evidently signify lives. The sacred text certainly did not mean, that beasts had swallowed the souls of men, but their blood, which is their life; and

* Gen. i. 20.

† Ibid i. 24.

‡ Ibid i. 30.

§ Ibid ii. 7.

as to the hands given by this text to beasts, it signifies their claws.

In short, more than two hundred passages may be quoted in which the soul is used for the life, both of beasts and man; but not one which explains either life or soul.

If life be the faculty of sensation, whence this faculty? In reply to this question, all the learned quote systems, and these systems are destructive of each other. But why anxious to ascertain the source of sensation? It is as difficult to conceive the power which binds all things to a common centre, as to conceive the cause of animal sensation. The direction of the needle towards the pole, the paths of comets, and a thousand other phenomena, are equally incomprehensible.

Properties of matter exist, the principle of which will never be known to us; and that of sensation, without which there cannot be life, is among the number.

Is it possible to live without experiencing sensation? No. An infant which dies in a lethargy that has lasted from its birth, has existed, but not lived.

Let us imagine an idiot unable to form complex ideas, but who possesses sensation; he certainly lives without thinking, forming simple ideas from his sensations.

Thought therefore is not necessary to life, since this idiot has lived without thinking.

Hence, certain thinkers *think* that thought is not of the essence of man. They maintain that many idiots who think not, are men; and so decidedly men, as to produce other men, without the power of constructing a single argument.

The doctors who maintain the essentiality of thought, reply that these idiots have certain ideas from their sensation.

Bold reasoners rejoin, that a well-taught mind possesses more consecutive ideas and is very superior to these idiots, whence has sprung a grand dispute upon the soul, of which we shall speak—possibly at too great a length—in the article SOUL.

LOCKE.

PERHAPS there never was a more sage, a more methodical genius, never a more accurate logician, than Locke; yet he was by no means a great mathematician. He could never submit to the fatigue of calculations, nor endure the dry and barren nature of mathematical truths, which do not at first present the mind with any sensible image; and no man was ever a more decisive evidence, that it is possible to have a geometrical mind, without the assistance of geometry. Before his time, great philosophers had decided positively in what the soul of man consisted. But as they knew nothing at all about the manner, they were just as might be expected, all of different opinions.

In Greece, the cradle both of arts and errors, and in which the strength and weakness of the human mind have been so strikingly displayed, men reasoned, as we ourselves do now, upon the subject of the soul. The divine Anaxagoras—to whom an altar was raised, for having taught mankind that the sun was larger than the Peloponnesus, that snow was black, and that the heavens were composed of stone—asserted that the soul was an aerial spirit, but nevertheless immortal. Diogenes, a different man from him who became a cynic, after having been a dealer in base coin, asserted, that the soul was a portion of the very substance of God himself; an idea which was at least brilliant and dazzling. Epicurus composed it of parts, like body. Aristotle, who has been explained in innumerable ways, because he was utterly unintelligible, believed, if we refer for his belief to some of his disciples, that the understanding of all men was one and the same substance. The divine Plato, master of the divine Aristotle, and the divine Socrates, master of the divine Plato, pronounced the soul corporeal and eternal. The demon of Socrates had undoubtedly informed him what it was. There are, indeed, people who pretend that a man who boasted of having a familiar genius, must inevitably have been a little foolish, or a little

knavish; but such people are extremely difficult to please.

With respect to our fathers of the church, many in the early ages thought the human soul, and angels, and God himself, corporeal. The world improves and refines every day. St. Bernard, according to the confession of father Mabillon, taught on the subject of the soul, that after death it did not see God in heaven, but communed solely with the humanity of Jesus Christ. For this once, he was not believed upon his word; and indeed, the adventure of the crusade had rather discredited his oracles. Numberless schoolmen appeared afterwards upon the stage in pompous succession, such as the irrefragable doctor,* the subtle doctor,† the angelic doctor,‡ the seraphic doctor,§ and the cherubic doctor, all of whom were perfectly confident they understood the nature of the human soul, but at the same time always spoke about it as if they wished no one else should understand it. Our own countryman Descartes, born to detect the errors of antiquity, but unfortunately also to substitute his own in their room, and urged on by that spirit of system which blinds the strongest understandings, conceived he had demonstrated that the soul was the same thing as thought; as matter, according to him, is the same thing as extension. He affirms strongly, that a man always thinks, and that the soul arrives in the body provided with a whole stock of metaphysical notions, acquainted with God, with space and infinity, in possession of all sorts of abstract ideas, full, in short, of beautiful and sublime knowledge, which, most unluckily, it totally forgets immediately on its departure from the mother's womb. Father Malebranche, of the Oratory, in his sublime illusions, does not admit the doctrine of innate ideas; but he had no doubt but that we saw all in God, and that God, if we may so express ourselves, was in fact our soul.

After so many random reasoners had been thus forming what might have been called the Romance of

* Hales. † Scot. ‡ St. Thomas. § St. Bonaventure.

the Soul, a sage appears who has modestly presented us with the history of it. Mr. Locke has developed human reason to man, just as a skilful anatomist explains the springs and structure of the human body. He avails himself of all the light that can be derived from natural philosophy; he sometimes ventures to speak affirmatively; but he also ventures to express doubt. Instead of displaying definitions of what we are little or not all acquainted with, he examines, step by step, what we wish to be acquainted with. He begins with an infant at its birth; he follows slowly and cautiously the progress of its understanding; and he sees what it has in common with brutes, and what it has above them. He consults particularly his own testimony—the evidence of consciousness. “I leave those,” says he, “who are better informed on the subject than myself, to discuss whether the soul exists before, or not until after the organization of the body, but I acknowledge it has fallen to my lot to have one of those heavy and inert souls which do not always think; and I am even unfortunate enough to conceive, that it may very possibly be no more necessary that the soul should be always thinking, than that the body should be always in motion.”

With regard to myself, I pride myself in being on this subject as simple as Mr. Locke. No one can ever induce me to believe that I am always thinking; and I feel no more disposed than he was, to imagine that a few weeks after my conception I was a very knowing soul, acquainted with a thousand things which I forgot on being born; and that I have to no purpose whatever possessed, while in the womb, invaluable stores of information, which abandoned me the instant I really wanted them, and which I have never since been able to recover.

Locke, after having destroyed innate ideas; after having wisely renounced the vanity of believing that man always thinks; having well established the principle, that all our ideas are derived to us through the senses; having examined our simple and analysed our compound ideas, having followed the human mind

through all its operations; having pointed out the imperfections of the various languages employed by mankind, and the abuse we make of words almost every moment of our lives,—Locke, I say, at last considers the extent, or rather the nothingness, of human knowledge. It is in this chapter that he ventures modestly to observe—“We shall perhaps, never be capable of knowing, whether a being purely material thinks or not.” This judicious and guarded observation was considered by more than one divine, as neither more nor less than a scandalous and impious declaration, that the soul is material and mortal. Some English devotees, after their usual manner, sounded the alarm. The superstitious are in society what poltroons are in an army,—they both feel and excite causeless terror. The cry was, that Mr. Locke wished to overturn religion: the subject, however, had nothing to do with religion at all; it was purely a philosophical question, and perfectly independent of faith and revelation. It was only necessary to examine, without acrimony or heat, whether there is any contradiction in saying—“Matter may think, and God may communicate thought to matter.” But theologians too often begin with passionately charging the man who does not join in their opinion with blaspheming or insulting God; somewhat resembling in this the bad poets, who thought that Despreaux spoke contemptuously of the king, because he was laughing at themselves. Doctor Stillingfleet obtained the reputation of a temperate controversialist, merely for abstaining in the discussion from positive and personal abuse of Mr. Locke. He entered the lists with him, but was decidedly defeated; for he argued like a divine, and Locke like a philosopher well acquainted with the strength and weakness of the human mind, and fighting with weapons the temper of which he well knew and justly confided in.

SECTION II.

Every philosopher is destined to endure reviling and calumny. For one man capable of replying with reason; there are a hundred who have nothing to advance but

abuse, and every one pays with the money which he possesses. My ears are every day dinned and wearied with the exclamations—"Locke denies the immortality of the soul; Locke destroys morality;" and what is surprising, if anything could surprise, is, that out of all those who in this manner bring accusations against the morality of Locke, there are very few indeed that have ever read him, fewer still that have understood him, and none whom it is not our duty to wish possessed of such virtues as were possessed by that great man, who so truly merited the epithets of wise and good.

Malebranche is read at Paris eagerly and with delight. A number of editions of his metaphysical romance have been printed; but I have remarked that there is little of him read besides the chapters relating to the errors of the senses and imagination. There are very few readers who examine the abstract part of the work. Those who have any knowledge of the French character will easily believe me, when I assert it as my firm opinion, that if Malebranche, instead of expatiating on the errors of the senses and imagination, had assumed that they were already sufficiently known by philosophers, and entered immediately upon his speculation on matter, he would not have had one follower, and would scarcely have had any readers. He confounded the reason of those whom he delighted by his style. His readers believed him on subjects which they did not understand, because he had begun intelligibly and reasonably on subjects within their grasp; he seduced because he was pleasing, as Descartes did because he was daring. Locke was merely wise; accordingly, twenty years were required to dispose of the first edition of his work "On the Human Understanding," which was printed in Holland. There never was a man who among us has been less read and more condemned than Locke. The echoes of calumny and ignorance every day repeat—"Locke did not believe the immortality of the soul; he must therefore have been a bad man." I leave to others the task of confuting so base a falsehood respecting that individual. I limit my-

self to showing the absurdity of the general conclusion. The doctrine of the immortality of the soul was for a very long time unknown to all the world. The first Jews were ignorant of it. Was there no man of probity or virtue among them? Did not the Judaic law, although it taught nothing concerning the nature or immortality of the soul, teach nevertheless morality? Even although we were not at the present day assured by faith that we are immortal, although we had it clear to demonstration that everything belonging to us dissolved and perished with our perishable bodies, we surely should, notwithstanding all this, be found to adore the God that made us, and to follow the direction of that reason which he has bestowed upon us. Were our life and our whole existence to endure only for a single day, it is certain that, in order to pass that day in happiness, it would be necessary to be virtuous; and it is evident that, in every country and every age, being virtuous consists simply and solely in "doing to others what men could reasonably desire should be done to themselves." It is this genuine virtue, the daughter of reason, and not of fear, which influenced and guided all the sages of antiquity; it is this which, in our own times, regulated the life of a Descartes, that distinguished harbinger of natural philosophy; of a Newton, the great interpreter of nature; of a Locke, who alone brought the human mind acquainted with itself; and of a Bayle, that impartial and enlightened arbiter, as truly estimable as he was grossly calumniated; for to the honour of letters it must be remarked, that philosophy makes an upright heart, as geometry does a correct head. But, not merely was Locke a virtuous man; not merely was he a believer in the immortality of the soul, but he never did, in fact, assert that matter thinks; he only said that matter may think, if it is the will of God that it should do so, and that it is rash and absurd to deny that God has the power to make it think.

I will, however, even suppose that he said, and that others before him said, that God had in fact given thought to matter; does it thence follow that the soul

is mortal? The schools loudly exclaim, that every compound being retains the nature of that of which it is compounded; that matter is perishable and divisible, and that accordingly the soul would be perishable and divisible like it. The whole of this is equally false.

It is false, that if God chose to make matter think, thought would be a compound of matter; for thought would be simply a gift of God, added to that unknown being which we call matter; just in the same manner as God has added to it the attraction of centripetal force and motion, attributes independent of divisibility.

It is false, that even in the system of the schools, matter is infinitely divisible. We assume, indeed, divisibility to infinity in geometry; but that science deals merely with our ideas, and while we assume lines without width, and points without extension, we also assume an infinity of circles passing between a tangent and a given circle.

But when we come to the examination of actual nature, then infinite divisibility vanishes. Matter, it is true, remains infinitely divisible ideally, but it is necessarily indivisible, and that same science of geometry which demonstrates to me that my thought may eternally divide matter, likewise demonstrates to me, that there are in matter parts indivisible and perfectly solid. The following is the demonstration.

Since we must necessarily suppose the existence of pores in every description of elements into which we imagine matter divisible to infinity, the quantity of solid matter that will remain will be expressed by the product of an infinite series of terms each smaller than the other; but such a product amounts necessarily to zero; and therefore, if matter were physically infinitely divisible, there would be no matter at all. This shows, by the way, that M. de Malezieux, in his *Elements of Geometry*, for the duke of Burgundy is perfectly incorrect in maintaining that there is an absolute incompatibility between units and parts indivisible to infinity. In this doctrine he is doubly mistaken; he is mistaken in not adverting to the circumstance that a unit is the object of our thought, and divisibility ano-

ther object of our thought, which are by no means incompatible; for I can make a unit of a hundred and a hundred of a unit; and he is farther mistaken in not adverting to the difference that exists between matter divisible in thought, and matter divisible in fact.

You enquire perhaps what all this proves?

That there are parts of matter imperishable and indivisible; that the almighty God their creator may, whenever he pleases, unite thought to one of these parts, and preserve it for ever. I by no means assert, that my reason instructs me God has actually done this; I merely say, that it teaches me it may be done. I say, with the judicious Locke, that it belongs not to us, who are only of yesterday, to dare to set bounds to the power of the Creator, the infinite being, the only necessary and immutable existence.

Mr. Locke says, that it is impossible for reason to prove the spirituality of the soul; I add, that there is not a man in the world who is not convinced of that truth.

It is unquestionable, that if a man were fully persuaded he should be more free and more happy in quitting his habitation, he would quit it instantly; but we cannot believe the soul to be spiritual, without conceiving it to be in prison in the body, in which it is in general, if not absolutely miserable, at least restless and melancholy; we ought therefore naturally to be delighted to leave our prison. But what man is delighted to die through such a motive?

. . . . Quod si immortalis nostra foret mens,
Non jam se moriens dissolvi conqueretur;
Sed magis ire foras, vestemque relinquere ut anguis
Gauderet prælunga senex aut cornua cervus.

LUCRETIVS, iii. 611—614.

The soul immortal, why doth then the mind
Complain of death, why not rejoice to find
Herself let loose, and leave this clay behind?
As snakes, whene'er the circling year returns,
Rejoice to cast their skins, or deer their horns.

CREECH.

We should endeavour to ascertain, not what other men have said upon this matter, but what our own

reason is able to discover to us, independently of the opinions of mankind.

LOVE.

THERE are so many kinds of love, that in order to define it, we scarcely know which to direct our attention to. Some boldly apply the name of 'love' to a caprice of a few days, a connection without attachment, a passion without affection, the affectations of cecisbeism, a cold usage, a romantic fancy, a taste speedily followed by distaste. They apply the name to a thousand chimeras.

Should any philosophers be inclined profoundly to investigate a subject in itself so little philosophical, they may recur to the banquet of Plato, in which Socrates, the decent and honourable lover of Alcibiades and Agathon, converses with them on the metaphysics of love.

Lucretius speaks of it more as a natural philosopher; and Virgil follows the example of Lucretius. "*Amor omnibus idem.*"

It is the embroidery of imagination on the stuff of nature. If you wish to form an idea of love, look at the sparrows in your garden; behold your doves; contemplate the bull when introduced to the heifer; look at that powerful and spirited horse which two of your grooms are conducting to the mare that quietly awaits him, and is evidently pleased at his approach; observe the flashing of his eyes, notice the strength and loudness of his neighings, the boundings, the curvettings, the ears erect, the mouth opening with convulsive gaspings, the distended nostrils, the breath of fire, the raised and waving mane, and the impetuous movement with which he rushes towards the object which nature has destined for him; do not, however, be jealous of his happiness; but reflect on the advantages of the human species; they afford ample compensation in love for all those which nature has conferred on mere animals—strength, beauty, lightness, and rapidity.

There are some classes, however, even of animals

totally unacquainted with sexual association. Fishes are destitute of this enjoyment. The female deposits her millions of eggs on the slime of the waters, and the male that meets them passes over them and communicates the vital principle, neither consorting with, or perhaps even perceiving the female to whom they belong.

The greater part of those animals which copulate are sensible of the enjoyment only by a single sense; and when appetite is satisfied, the whole is over. No animal, besides man, is acquainted with embraces; his whole frame is susceptible; his lips particularly experience a delight which never wearies, and which is exclusively the portion of his species; finally, he can surrender himself at all seasons to the endearments of love, while mere animals possess only limited periods. If you reflect on these high pre-eminences, you will readily join in the earl of Rochester's remark, that love would impel a whole nation of atheists to worship the divinity.

As men have been endowed with the talent of perfecting whatever nature has bestowed upon them, they have accordingly perfected the gift of love. Cleanliness, personal attention, and regard to health, render the frame more sensitive, and consequently increase its capacity of gratification. All the other amiable and valuable sentiments enter afterwards into that of love, like the metals which amalgamate with gold; friendship and esteem readily fly to its support; and talents both of body and of mind are new and strengthening bonds.

*Nam facit ipsa suis interdum femina factis,
Morigerisque modis, et munde corpore culto
Ut facile insuescat secum vir degere vitam.*

Lucretius, iv. 1275.

Self-love, above all, draws closer all these various ties. Men pride themselves in the choice they have made; and the numberless illusions that crowd around constitute the ornament of the work, of which the foundation is so firmly laid by nature.

Such are the advantages possessed by man above the various tribes of animals. But, if he enjoys delights

of which they are ignorant, how many vexations and disgusts, on the other hand, is he exposed to, from which they are free! The most dreadful of these is occasioned by nature's having poisoned the pleasures of love and sources of life over three quarters of the world by a terrible disease, to which man alone is subject; nor is it with this pestilence as with various other maladies, which are the natural consequences of excess. It was not introduced into the world by debauchery. The Phrynes and Laïses, the Floras and Messalinas, were never attacked by it. It originated in islands where mankind dwelt together in innocence, and has thence been spread throughout the old world.

If nature could in any instance be accused of despising her own work, thwarting her own plan, and counteracting her own views, it would be in this detestable scourge which has polluted the earth with horror and shame. And can this then be the best of all possible worlds? What! if Cæsar and Antony and Octavius never had this disease, was it not possible to prevent Francis the first from dying of it? No, it is said; things were so ordered all for the best; I am disposed to believe it; but it is unfortunate for those to whom Rabelais has dedicated his book.

Erotic philosophers have frequently discussed the question, whether Heloisa could truly love Abelard after he became a monk and mutilated? One of these states much wronged the other.

Be comforted however, Abelard, you were really beloved; imagination comes in aid of the heart. Men feel a pleasure in remaining at table although they can no longer eat? Is it love? is it simply recollection? is it friendship? It is a something compounded of all these. It is a confused feeling, resembling the fantastic passions which the dead retained in the Elysian fields. The heroes who while living had shone in the chariot races, guided imaginary chariots after death. Heloisa lived with you on illusions and supplements. She sometimes caressed you, and with so much the more pleasure as, after vowing at Paraclete that she would love you no more, her caresses were become more precious to

her in proportion as they had become more culpable. A woman can never form a passion for an eunuch, but she may retain her passion for her lover after his becoming one, if he still remains amiable.

The case is different with respect to a lover grown old in the service; the external appearance is no longer the same; wrinkles affright, grizzly eyebrows repel, decaying teeth disgust, infirmities drive away: all that can be done or expected is to have the virtue of being a patient and kind nurse, and bearing with the man that was once beloved, all which amounts to—burying the dead.

LOVE OF GOD.

THE disputes that have occurred about the love of God have kindled as much hatred as any theological quarrel. The jesuits and jansenists have been contending for a hundred years which party loved God in the most suitable and appropriate manner, and which should at the same time most completely harrass and torment their neighbour.

When the author of *Telemachus*, who was in high reputation at the court of Louis XIV., recommended men to love God in a manner which did not happen to coincide with that of the author of the “*Funeral Oration*,” the latter, who was a complete master of the weapons of controversy, declared open war against him, and procured his condemnation in the ancient city of *Romulus*, where God was the very object most loved, after domination, ease, luxury, pleasure, and money.

If madame Guyon had been acquainted with the story of the good old woman, who brought a chafing-dish to burn paradise, and a bottle of oil to extinguish hell, that God might be loved for himself alone, she would not perhaps have written so much as she did. She must inevitably have felt that she could herself never say anything better than that; but she loved God and nonsense so very sincerely, that she was imprisoned for four months, on account of her affectionate attachment;—treatment decidedly rigorous and unjust.

Why punish as a criminal a woman whose only offence was composing verse in the style of the abbé Cotin, and prose in the taste of the popular favourite Punchinello. It is strange, that the author of *Telemachus* and the frigid loves of Eucharis, should have said in his "Maxims of Saints," after the blessed Francis de Sales,—“I have scarcely any desires; but, were I to be born again, I should not have any at all. If God came to me, I would also go to him; if it were not his will to come to me, I would stay where I was, and not go to him.”

His whole work turns upon this proposition. Francis de Sales was not condemned, but Fenelon was. Why should that have been? the reason is, that Francis de Sales had not a bitter enemy at the court of Turin, and that Fenelon had one at Versailles.

The most sensible thing that was written upon this mystical controversy, is to be found perhaps in Boileau's satire "On the Love of God," although that is certainly by no means his best work.

Qui fait exactement ce que, ma loi commande,
A pour moi, dit ce Dieu, l'amour que je demande.

Ep. xii. 99.

Attend exactly to my law's command,
Such, says this God, the worship I demand.

If we must pass from the thorns of theology to those of philosophy, which are not so long and are less piercing, it seems clear that an object may be loved by any one without any reference to self, without any mixture of interested self-love. We cannot compare divine things to earthly ones, or the love of God to any other love. We have an infinity of steps to mount above our grovelling human inclinations before we can reach that sublime love. Since however we have nothing to rest upon, except the earth, let us draw our comparisons from that. We view some masterpiece of art, in painting, sculpture, architecture, poetry, or eloquence; we hear a piece of music that absolutely enchants our ears and souls; we admire it, we love it, without any return of the slightest advantage to ourselves from this attachment; it is a pure and refined

feeling; we proceed sometimes so far as to entertain veneration or friendship for the author; and were he present should cordially embrace him.

This is almost the only way in which we can explain our profound admiration and the impulses of our heart towards the eternal architect of the world. We survey the work with an astonishment made up of respect and a sense of our own nothingness, and our heart warms and rises as much as possible towards the divine artificer.

But what is this feeling? A something vague and indeterminate—an impression that has no connection with our ordinary affections. A soul more susceptible than another, more withdrawn from worldly business and cares, may be so affected by the spectacle of nature, as to feel the most ardent as well as pious aspirations towards the eternal lord who formed it. Could such an amiable affection of the mind, could so powerful a charm, so strong an evidence of feeling, incur censure? Was it possible in reality to condemn the affectionate and grateful disposition of the archbishop of Cambray? Notwithstanding the expressions of St. Francis de Sales, above given, he adhered steadily to this assertion, that the author may be loved merely and simply for the beauty of his works. With what heresy could he be reproached? The extravagances of style of a lady of Montargis, and a few unguarded expressions of his own, were not a little injurious to him.

Where was the harm that he had done? Nothing at present is known about the matter. This dispute, like numberless others, is completely annihilated. Were every dogmatist to say to himself, a few years hence no one will care a straw for my dogmas, there would be far less dogmatising in the world than there is. Ah! Louis the fourteenth! Louis the fourteenth! when two men of genius had departed so far from the natural scope and direction of their talents, as to write the most obscure and tiresome works ever written in your dominions, how much better would it have been to have left them to their own wranglings!

Pour finir tous ces débats-là,
Tu n'avais qu' à les laisser faire.

To end debates in such a tone
'Twas but to leave the men alone.

It is observable under all the articles of morality and history, by what an invisible chain, by what unknown springs, all the ideas that disturb our minds, and all the events that poison our days, are bound together and brought to co-operate in the formation of our destinies. Fenelon dies in exile in consequence of holding two or three mystical conversations with a pious but fanciful woman. Cardinal Bouillon, nephew of the great Turenne, is persecuted in consequence of not himself persecuting at Rome the archbishop of Cambray, his friend: he is compelled to quit France, and he loses his whole fortune.

By a like chain of causes and effects, the son of a solicitor at Vire detects in a dozen of obscure phrases of a book printed at Amsterdam, what is sufficient to fill all the dungeons of France with victims; and at length, from the depth of those dungeons arises a cry for redress and vengeance, the echo of which lays prostrate on the earth an able and tyrannical society* which had been established by an ignorant mad-man.

LOVE (SOCRATIC LOVE).

If the love called Socratic and Platonic is only a becoming sentiment, it is to be applauded; if an unnatural licence, we must blush for Greece.

It is certain as the knowledge of antiquity can well be, that Socratic love was not an infamous passion. It is the word love which has deceived the world. Those called the lovers of a young man were precisely such as among us are called the minions of our princes—honourable youths attached to the education of a child of distinction, partaking of the same studies and the same military exercises—a warlike and correct

* That of Jesus.—T.

custom, which has been perverted into nocturnal feasts and midnight orgies.

The company of lovers instituted by Laius was an invincible troop of young warriors, bound by oath each to preserve the life of any other at the expense of his own. Ancient discipline never exhibited anything more fine.

Sextus Empiricus and others have boldly affirmed, that this vice was recommended by the laws of Persia: Let them cite the text of such a law; let them exhibit the code of the Persians; and if such an abomination be even found there, still I would disbelieve it, and maintain that the thing was not true, because it is impossible. No; it is not in human nature to make a law which contradicts and outrages nature itself—a law which would annihilate mankind, if it were literally observed. Moreover, I will show you the ancient law of the Persians as given in the Sadder. It says, in the article or gate 9, that the greatest sin must not be committed. It is in vain that a modern writer seeks to justify Sextus Empiricus and pederasty. The laws of Zoroaster, with which he is unacquainted, incontrovertibly prove, that this vice was never recommended to the Persians. It might as well be said, that is recommended to the Turks. They boldly practice it, but their laws condemn it.

How many persons have mistaken shameful practices, which are only tolerated in a country, for its laws. Sextus Empiricus, who doubted everything, should have doubted this piece of jurisprudence. If he had lived in our days, and witnessed the proceedings of two or three young jesuits with their pupils, would he have been justified in the assertion that such practices were permitted by the institutes of Ignatius Loyola?

It will be permitted to me here to allude to the Socratic love of the reverend father Polycarp, a carmelite, who was driven away from the small town of Gex in 1771, in which place he taught religion and Latin to about a dozen scholars. He was at once their confessor, tutor, and something more. Few have had more occupations, spiritual and temporal. All was dis-

covered; and he retired into Switzerland, a country very distant from Greece.

The monks charged with the education of youth have always exhibited a little of this tendency, which is a necessary consequence of the celibacy to which the poor men are condemned.

This vice was so common at Rome, that it was impossible to punish a crime which almost every one committed. Octavius Augustus, that murderer, debauchee, and coward who exiled Ovid, thought it right in Virgil to sing the charms of Alexis. Horace, his other poetical favourite, constructed small odes on Ligurinus; and this same Horace, who praised Augustus for reforming manners, speaks in his satires in much the same way of both boys and girls. Yet the ancient law 'Scantinia,' which forbade pederasty, always existed, and was put in force by the emperor Philip, who drove away from Rome the boys who made a profession of it. If, however, Rome had witty and licentious students, like Petronius, it had also such preceptors as Quintilian; and attend to the precautions he lays down in his chapter of 'The Preceptor,' in order to preserve the purity of early youth. "Cavendum non solum crimine turpitudinis, sed etiam suspitione." We must not only beware of a shameful crime but even of the suspicion of it. To conclude, I firmly believe that no civilized nation ever existed* which made formal laws against morals.

* The ex-jesuit Des Fontaines was on the point of being burnt for this crime in the place de Greve, but was saved by powerful protectors. A victim however was wanted, and Des Chofours was burnt in his stead. The burning of the latter was decreed on the authority of the Institutes of St. Louis, rendered into French of the fifteenth century. St. Louis, however assigned the reproachful epithet bestowed on offenders of this description, to those the church pronounced heretics, who at that time were generally so denominated; to these he generally alluded when he decreed, that if any one was suspected he should be examined by the bishop, and if proved guilty be burned. Thus the Lorrain gentleman, Des Chofours, suffered death at Paris from an ambiguity. Despreaux did well in composing a satire against equivocation, which has caused more mischief than the world is aware of.

*Observations by another Hand.**

We may be permitted to make a few additional reflections on an odious and disgusting subject, which however, unfortunately, forms a part of the history of opinions and manners.

This offence may be traced to the remotest periods of civilization. Greek and Roman history in particular allows us not to doubt it. It was common before people formed regular societies, and were governed by written laws.

The latter fact is the reason, that the laws have treated it with so much indulgence. Severe laws cannot be proposed to a free people against a vice, whatever it may be, which is common and habitual. For a long time, many of the German nations had written laws which admitted of composition for murder. Solon contented himself with forbidding these odious practices between the citizens and slaves. The Athenians might perceive the policy of this interdiction, and submit to it; especially as it operated against the slaves only, and was enacted to prevent them from corrupting the young free men. Fathers of families, however lax their morals, had no motive to oppose it.

The severity of the manners of women in Greece, the use of public baths, and the passion for games in which men appeared altogether naked, fostered this turpitude, notwithstanding the progress of society and morals. Lycurgus, by allowing more liberty to the women, and by certain other institutions, succeeded in rendering this vice less common in Sparta than in the other towns of Greece.

When the manners of a people become less rustic, as they improve in arts, luxury, and riches, if they retain their former vices, they at least endeavour to veil them. Christian morality, by attaching shame to connexions between unmarried people, by rendering

* These observations are given by way of note in the French edition, but from their length and ability will stand better as part of the text.—T.

marriage indissoluble, and proscribing concubinage by ecclesiastical censures, has rendered adultery common; Every sort of voluptuousness having been equally made sinful, that species is naturally preferred which is necessarily the most secret; and thus, by a singular contradiction, absolute crimes are often made more frequent, more tolerated, and less shameful in public opinion, than simple weaknesses. When the western nations began a course of refinement, they sought to conceal adultery under the veil of what is called gallantry. Then men loudly avowed a passion in which it was presumed the women did not share. The lovers dared demand nothing; and it was only after more than ten years of pure love, of combats and victories at tournaments, that a cavalier might hope to discover a moment of weakness in the object of his adoration. There remains a sufficient number of records of these times to convince us, that the state of manners fostered this species of hypocrisy. It was similar among the Greeks, when they had become polished. Connexions between males were not shameful; young people united themselves to each other by oaths, but it was to live and die for their country. It was usual for a person of ripe age to attach himself to a young man in a state of adolescence, ostensibly to form, instruct, and guide him; and the passion which mingled in these friendships was a sort of love—but still innocent love. Such was the veil with which public decency concealed vices which general opinion tolerated.

In short, in the same manner as chivalric gallantry is often made a theme for eulogy in modern society, as proper to elevate the soul and inspire courage, was it common among the Greeks to eulogise that love which attached the citizens to each other.

Plato said, that the Thebans acted laudably in adopting it, because it was necessary to polish their manners, supply greater energy to their souls and to their spirits, which were benumbed by the nature of their climate. We perceive by this, that a virtuous friendship alone was treated of by Plato. Thus, when a christian prince proclaimed a tournament, at which

every one appeared in the colours of his mistress, it was with the laudable intention of exciting emulation among his knights, and to soften manners: it was not adultery, but gallantry, that he would encourage within his dominions. In Athens, according to Plato, they set bounds to their toleration. In monarchical states, it was politic to prevent these attachments between men, but in republics they materially tended to prevent the double establishment of tyranny. In the sacrifice of a citizen, a tyrant knew not whose vengeance he might arm against himself, and was liable, without ceasing, to witness conspiracies grow out of the resolutions which this ambiguous affection produced among men.

In the mean time, in spite of ideas so remote from our sentiments and manners, this practice was regarded as very shameful among the Greeks, every time it was exhibited without the excuse of friendship or political ties. When Philip of Macedon saw extended on the field of battle of Cheronea, the soldiers who composed the sacred battalion or band of friends at Thebes, all killed in the ranks in which they had combated, "I will never believe," he exclaimed, "that such brave men have committed or suffered anything shameful." This expression from a man himself soiled with this infamy, furnishes an indisputable proof of the general opinion of Greece.

At Rome, this opinion was still stronger. Many Greek heroes, regarded as virtuous men, have been supposed addicted to the vice; but among the Romans it was never attributed to any of those characters in whom great virtue was acknowledged. It only seems, that with these two nations no idea of crime or even dishonour was attached to it, unless carried to excess, which renders even a passion for women disgraceful. Pederasty is rare among us, and would be unknown, but for the defects of public education.

Montesquieu pretends, that it prevails in certain Mahometan nations, in consequence of the facility of possessing women. In our opinion, for 'facility' we should read 'difficulty.'

LUXURY.

SECTION I.

IN a country where all the inhabitants went bare-footed, could luxury be imputed to the first man who made a pair of shoes for himself? Or rather, was he not a man of sense and industry?

Is it not just the same with him who procured the first shirt? With respect to the man who had it washed and ironed, I consider him as an absolute genius, abundant in resources, and qualified to govern a state.

Those however who were not used to wear clean shirts, considered him as a rich effeminate coxcomb who was likely to corrupt the nation.

“Beware of luxury,” said Cato to the Romans; “you have conquered the province of Phasis, but never eat any pheasants. You have subjugated the country in which cotton grows; still however continue to sleep on the bare ground. You have plundered the gold, and silver, and jewels of innumerable nations, but never become such fools as to use them. After taking everything, remain destitute of everything. Highway robbers should be virtuous and free.”

Lucullus replied, “You should rather wish, my good friend, that Crassus, and Pompey, and Cæsar, and myself, should spend all that we have taken in luxury. Great robbers must fight about the division of the spoil; but Rome will inevitably be enslaved, and it will be enslaved by one or other of us much more speedily, and much more securely, if we place that value upon money that you do, than if we spend it in superfluities and pleasures. Wish that Pompey and Cæsar may so far impoverish themselves, as not to have money enough to pay the armies.”

Not long since, a Norwegian was upbraiding a Dutchman with luxury. “Where now,” says he, “are the happy times when a merchant, quitting Amsterdam for the great Indies, left a quarter of smoked beef in his kitchen and found it untouched on his return? Where are your wooden spoons and iron forks? Is it

not shameful for a sensible Dutchman to sleep in a bed of damask?"

"Go to Batavia," replied the Amsterdammer; "gain, as I have done, ten tons of gold; and then see if you have not some inclination to be well clothed, well fed, and well lodged."

Since this conversation, twenty volumes have been written about luxury, and these books have neither increased nor diminished it.

SECTION II.

Luxury has been declaimed against for the space of two thousand years, both in verse and prose; and yet it has been always liked.

What has not been said of the Romans? When, in the early periods of their history, these banditti ravaged and carried off their neighbours' harvests; when, in order to augment their own wretched village, they destroyed the poor villages of the Volsci and Samnites, they were, we are told, men disinterested and virtuous. They could not as yet, be it remembered, carry away gold and silver, and jewels, because the towns which they sacked and plundered had none; nor did their woods and swamps produce partridges or pheasants; yet people, forsooth, extol their temperance!

When, by a succession of violences, they had pillaged and robbed every country from the recesses of the Adriatic to the Euphrates, and had sense enough to enjoy the fruit of their rapine; when they cultivated the arts, and tasted all the pleasures of life, and communicated them also to the nations which they conquered; then, we are told, they ceased to be wise and good.

All such declamations tend just to prove this—that a robber ought not to eat the dinner he has taken, nor wear the habit he has stolen, nor ornament his finger with the ring he has plundered from another. All this, it is said, should be thrown into the river, in order to live like good people; but how much better would it be to say, never rob—it is your duty not to rob? Condemn the brigands when they plun-

der; but do not treat them as fools or madmen for enjoying their plunder. After a number of English sailors have obtained their prize-money for the capture of Pondicherry, or the Havannah, can they be blamed for purchasing a little pleasure in London in return for the labour and pain they have undergone in the uncongenial climes of Asia or America?

The declaimers we have mentioned, would wish men to bury the riches that might be accumulated by the fortune of war, or by agriculture, commerce, and industry in general. They cite Lacedemon; why do they not also cite the republic of San Marino? What benefit did Sparta do to Greece? Had she ever a Demosthenes, a Sophocles, an Apelles, or a Phidias? The luxury of Athens formed great men of every description. Sparta had certainly some great captains, but even these in a smaller number than other cities. But allowing, that a small republic like Lacedemon may maintain its poverty,* men uniformly die, whether they are in want of everything, or enjoying the various means of rendering life agreeable. The savage of Canada subsists and attains old age, as well as the English citizen who has fifty thousand guineas a year. But who will ever compare the country of the Iroquois to England?

Let the republic of Ragusa, and the canton of Zug, enact sumptuary laws; they are right in so doing. The poor must not expend beyond their means; but I have somewhere read, that if partially injurious, luxury benefits a great nation upon the whole.

Sachez surtout que le luxe enrichit
Un grand etat, s'il en perd un petit.†

* Lacedemon avoided luxury only by keeping up the community or equality of goods, but she kept up each of these only through the cultivation of her lands by slaves. It was the legislation of the convent of St. Claude only, that the monks were not permitted to kill or injure their serfs, (*mainmortables*). The existence of equality or community of goods implies that of an enslaved people. The Spartans had virtue like highway-robbers, like inquisitors, like all classes of men familiarised by habit to crime so far as at length to commit it without remorse.

† Sumptuary laws are by their very nature a violation of the right of property. If in a small state there is no great inequality

If by luxury you mean excess, we know that excess is universally pernicious, in abstinence as well as gluttony, in parsimony or profusion. I know not how it has happened, that in my own village, where the soil is poor and meagre, the imposts heavy, and the prohibition against a man's exporting the corn he has himself sown and reaped, intolerable, there is hardly a single cultivator who is not well clothed, and who has not an ample supply of warmth and food. Should this cultivator go to plough in his best clothes and with his hair dressed and powdered, there would in that case exist the greatest and most absurd luxury; but were a wealthy citizen of Paris or London to appear at the play in the dress of this peasant, he would exhibit the grossest and most ridiculous parsimony.

*Est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines,
Quos ultra citràque nequit consistere rectum.*

HORACE, book i. sat. i. v. 106.

Some certain mean in all things may be found,
To mark our virtues, and our vices, bound.

FRANCIS.

On the invention of scissars, which are certainly not of the very highest antiquity, what was not said of those who pared their nails and cut off some of their hair that was hanging down over their noses? They were undoubtedly considered as prodigals and coxcombs, who bought at an extravagant price an instrument just calculated to spoil the work of the creator. What an enormous sin to pare the horn which God himself made to grow at our fingers' ends! It was absolutely an insult to the Divine Being himself. When shirts and socks were invented, it was far worse. It is well known with what wrath and indignation the old counsellors, who had never worn socks, exclaimed against the young magistrates who encouraged so dreadful and fatal a luxury.*

of fortune, there will be no luxury; if there is such inequality, luxury is the natural remedy for it. The sumptuary laws of Geneva have destroyed its liberty.

* If we are to understand by luxury, all that is beyond absolute necessity, luxury is a natural consequence of the advance of the human species; and, to reason correctly and consistently, every

MADNESS.

WHAT is madness? To have erroneous perceptions, and to reason correctly from them? Let the wisest man, if he would understand madness, attend to the succession of his ideas while he dreams. If he be troubled with indigestion during the night, a thousand incoherent ideas torment him; it seems as if nature punished him for having taken too much food, or for having injudiciously selected it, by supplying involuntary conceptions; for we think very little during sleep, except when annoyed by a bad digestion. Unquiet dreams are in reality a transient madness.

Madness is a malady which necessarily hinders a man from thinking and acting like other men. Not being able to manage property, the madman is withheld from it; incapable of ideas suitable to society, he is shut out from it; if he be dangerous, he is confined altogether; and if he be furious, they bind him. Sometimes he is cured by the baths, by bleeding, and by regimen.

This man is not however deprived of ideas; he frequently possesses them like other men, and often when he sleeps. We might inquire how the spiritual and immortal soul, lodged in his brain, receives all its ideas

enemy to luxury ought to think, with Rousseau, that the true state of happiness and virtue is that, not of the savage, but of the *ourang-outang*. It would evidently be absurd to regard as an evil, conveniences which all men can enjoy; accordingly, the term luxury is in general applied merely to superfluities which can be enjoyed only by a small number of individuals. In this sense, luxury is a natural consequence of property, without which no society can subsist; and of a great inequality of fortunes, which is the consequence, not of the right of property, but of bad laws. It is in these bad laws then that luxury originates, and good laws would destroy it. Moralists ought to address their discourses to legislators, not to private persons; because it is in the course of possibility, that a virtuous and enlightened man may have it in his power to make reasonable laws, but it is not in human nature that all the wealthy members of a community should, out of a principle of virtue, renounce the gratifications of pleasure and vanity which they can procure by their opulence.

correctly and distinctly, without the capacity of judgment. It perceives objects, as the souls of Aristotle, of Plato, of Locke, and of Newton, perceived them. It hears the same sounds, and possesses the same sense of feeling—how therefore, receiving impressions like the wisest, does the soul of the madman connect them extravagantly, and prove unable to disperse them?

If this simple and eternal substance enjoys the same properties as the souls which are lodged in the sagest brains, it ought to reason like them. Why does it not? If my madman sees a thing red, while the wise men see it blue; if when my sages hear music, my madman hears the braying of an ass; if when they attend a sermon, he imagines himself to be listening to a comedy; if when they understand yes, he understands no; then I conceive clearly that his soul ought to think contrary to their's. But my madman having the same perceptions as they have, there is no apparent reason why his soul, having received all the necessary materials, cannot make a proper use of them. It is pure, they say, and subject to no infirmity; behold it provided with all the necessary assistance; nothing which passes in the body can change its essence;—yet it is shut up in a close carriage, and conveyed to Charenton.

This reflection may lead us to suspect, that the faculty of thought, bestowed by God upon man, is subject to derangement like the other senses. A madman is an invalid whose brain is diseased, while the gouty man is one who suffers in his feet and hands. People think by means of the brain, and walk on their feet, without knowing anything of the source of either this incomprehensible power of walking, or the equally incomprehensible power of thinking; besides the gout may be in the head, instead of the feet. In short, after a thousand arguments, faith alone can convince us of the possibility of a simple and immaterial substance liable to disease.

The learned may say to the madman,—My friend, although deprived of common sense, thy soul is as

pure, as spiritual, and as immortal, as our own; but our souls are happily lodged, and thine not so. The windows of its dwelling are closed; it wants air, and is stifled. The madman, in a lucid interval, will reply to them,—My friends, you beg the question, as usual. My windows are as wide open as your own, since I can perceive the same objects and listen to the same sounds. It necessarily follows, that my soul makes a bad use of my senses; or that my soul is a vitiated sense, a depraved faculty. In a word, either my soul is itself diseased, or I have no soul.

One of the doctors may reply,—My brother, God has possibly created foolish souls, as well as wise ones. The madman will answer,—If I believed what you say, I should be a still greater madman than I am. Have the kindness, you who know so much, to tell me why I am mad?

Supposing the doctors to retain a little sense, they would say,—We know nothing about the matter. Neither are they more able to comprehend how a brain possesses regular ideas, and makes a due use of them. They call themselves sages, and are as weak as their patient.

If the interval of reason of the madman lasts long enough, he will say to them,—Miserable mortals, who neither know the cause of my malady, nor how to cure it! Tremble, lest ye become altogether like me, or even still worse than I am! You are not of the highest rank, like Charles VI. of France, Henry VI. of England, and the German emperor Wincenslaus, who all lost their reason in the same century. You have not nearly so much wit as Blaise Pascal, James Abadie, or Jonathan Swift, who all became insane. The last of them founded an hospital for us; shall I go there and retain places for you?

N. B. I regret that Hippocrates should have prescribed the blood of an ass's colt for madness; and am still more sorry, that the Manuel des Dames asserts, that it may be cured by catching the itch. Pleasant prescriptions these, and apparently invented by those who were to take them!

MAGIC.

MAGIC is a more plausible science than astrology and the doctrine of genii. As soon as we began to think that there was in man a being quite distinct from matter, and that the understanding exists after death, we gave this understanding a fine subtle aerial body, resembling the body in which it was lodged. Two quite natural reasons introduced this opinion; the first is, that in all languages the soul was called spirit, breath, wind. This spirit, this breath, this wind, was therefore very fine and delicate. The second is, that if the soul of a man had not retained a form similar to that which it possessed during its life, we should not have been able after death to distinguish the soul of one man from that of another. This soul, this shade, which existed, separated from its body, might very well show itself upon occasion, revisit the place which it had inhabited, its parents and friends, speak to them and instruct them. In all this there is no incompatibility.

As departed souls might very well teach those whom they came to visit the secret of conjuring them, they failed not to do so; and the word Abraxa, pronounced with some ceremonies, brought up souls with whom he who pronounced it wished to speak. I suppose an Egyptian saying to a philosopher,—I descend in a right line from the magicians of Pharaoh, who changed rods into serpents, and the waters of the Nile into blood; one of my ancestors married the witch of Endor, who conjured up the soul of Samuel at the request of Saul; she communicated her secrets to her husband, who made her the confidant of his own; I possess this inheritance from my father and mother; my genealogy is well attested; I command the spirits and elements. The philosopher, in reply, will have nothing to do but to demand his protection; for if disposed to deny and dispute, the magician will shut his mouth by saying,—You cannot deny the facts; my ancestors have been incontestibly great magicians, and

you doubt it not; you have no reason to believe that I am inferior to them, particularly when a man of honour like myself assures you that he is a sorcerer. The philosopher, to be sure, might say to him,—Do me the pleasure to conjure up a shade; allow me to speak to a soul; change this water into blood, and this rod into a serpent. The magician will answer,—I work not for philosophers; but I have shown spirits to very respectable ladies, and to simple people who never dispute; you should at least believe that it is very possible for me to have these secrets, since you are forced to confess that my ancestors possessed them. What was done formerly can be done now; and you ought to believe in magic without my being obliged to exercise my art before you.

These reasons are so good, that all nations have had sorcerers. The greatest sorcerers were paid by the state, in order to discover the future clearly in the heart and liver of an ox. Why therefore have others so long been punished with death? They have done more marvellous things; they should therefore be more honoured; above all, their power should be feared. Nothing is more ridiculous than to condemn a true magician to be burnt; for we should presume that he can extinguish the fire and twist the necks of his judges. All that we can do, is to say to him,—My friend, we do not burn you as a true sorcerer, but as a false one; you boast of an admirable art which you possess not; we treat you as a man who utters false money; the more we love the good, the more severely we punish those who give us counterfeits; we know very well that there were formerly venerable conjurors, but we have reason to believe that you are not one, since you suffer yourself to be burnt like a fool.

It is true, that the magician so pushed might say,—My science extends not so far as to extinguish a pile without water, and to kill my judges with words. I can only call up spirits, read the future, and change certain substances into others; my power is bounded; but you should not for that reason burn me at a slow

fire. It is as if you caused a physician to be hanged who could cure fever, and not a paralysis. The judges might however still reasonably observe,—Show us then some secret of your art, or consent to be burned with a good grace.

MALADY—MEDICINE.

I WILL suppose that a fair princess who never heard speak of anatomy, is ill either from having eaten or danced too much, or having done too much of what several princesses occasionally do. I suppose that her physician says to her—Madam, for your health to be good, it is necessary for your cerebrum and cerebellum to distribute a fine, well-conditioned marrow in the spine of your back down to your highness's rump; and that this marrow should equally animate fifteen pair of nerves, each right and left. It is necessary that your heart should contract and dilate itself with a constantly equal force; and that all the blood which it forces into your arteries should circulate in all these arteries and veins about six hundred times a day.

This blood, in circulating with a rapidity which surpasses that of the Rhone, ought to dispose on its passage of that which continually forms the lymph, urine, bile, &c. of your highness, of that which furnishes all these secretions, which insensibly render your skin soft, fresh, and fair, that without them would be yellow, grey, dry, and shrivelled, like old parchment.

PRINCESS.

Well, sir, the king pays you to attend to all this: fail not to put all things in their place, and to make my liquids circulate so that I may be comfortable. I warn you that I will not suffer with impatience.

PHYSICIAN.

Madam, address your orders to the author of nature. The sole power which made millions of planets and comets to revolve round millions of suns, has directed the course of your blood.

PRINCESS.

What! are you a physician, and can you prescribe nothing?

PHYSICIAN.

No, madam; we can only take away from, we can add nothing to nature. Your servants clean your palace, but the architect built it. If your highness has eaten greedily, I can cleanse your entrails with cassia, manna, and pods of senna: it is a broom which I introduce to cleanse your inside. If you have a cancer, I must cut off your breast, but I cannot give you another. Have you a stone in your bladder? I can deliver you from it. I can cut you off a gangrened foot, leaving you to walk on the other. In a word, we physicians perfectly resemble teeth-drawers, who extract a decayed tooth, without the power of substituting a sound one, quacks as they are.

PRINCESS.

You make me tremble; I believed that physicians cured all maladies.

PHYSICIAN.

We infallibly cure all those which cure themselves. It is generally, and with very few exceptions, with internal maladies as with external wounds. Nature alone cures those which are not mortal. Those which are so will find no resource in it.

PRINCESS.

What! all these secrets for purifying the blood, of which my ladies have spoken to me; this Baume de Vie of the Sieur de Lievre; these packets of the Sieur Arnould; all these pills so much praised by femmes de chambre——?

PHYSICIAN.

Are so many inventions to get money, and to flatter patients, while nature alone acts.

PRINCESS.

But there are specifics?

PHYSICIAN.

Yes, madam, like the water of youth in romances.

PRINCESS.

In what then consists medicine?

PHYSICIAN.

I have already told you, in cleaning and keeping in order the house which we cannot re-build.

PRINCESS.

There are however salutary things, and others hurtful?

PHYSICIAN.

You have guessed all the secret. Eat moderately that which you know by experience will agree with you. Nothing is good for the body but what is easily digested. What medicine will best assist digestion? Exercise. What best recruit your strength? Sleep. What will diminish incurable ills? Patience. What change a bad constitution? Nothing. In all violent maladies we have only the recipe of Molière, 'seignare, purgare,' and if we will, 'clisterium donare.' There is not a fourth. All, I have told you, amounts only to keeping a house in order, to which we cannot add a peg. All art consists in adaptation.

PRINCESS.

You puff not your merchandise. You are an honest man. When I am queen, I will make you my first physician.

PHYSICIAN.

Let nature be your first physician. It is she who made all. Of those who have lived beyond a hundred years, none were of the faculty. The king of France* has already buried forty of his physicians, as many chief physicians, besides physicians of the establishment and others.

PRINCESS.

And truly, I hope to bury you also.

MAN.

To know the natural philosophy of the human race, it is necessary to read works of anatomy, or rather to go through a course of anatomy.

To be acquainted with the man we call 'moral,' it is

* Louis XV.

above all necessary to have lived and reflected. Are not all moral works contained in these words of Job? "Man that is born of a woman hath but a few days to live, and is full of trouble. He cometh forth like a flower, and is cut down: he fleeth as a shadow, and continueth not."

We have already seen, that the human race has not above two-and-twenty years to live,* reckoning those who die at their nurses' breasts, and those who for a hundred years drag on the remains of a miserable and imbecile life.

It is a fine apologue, that ancient fable of the first man who was at first destined to live twenty years at most, and who reduced it to five years by estimating one life with another. The man was in despair, and had near him a caterpillar, a butterfly, a peacock, a horse, a fox, and an ape.

Prolong my life, said he to Jupiter; I am more worthy than these animals; it is just that I and my family should live long to command all beasts. Willingly, said Jupiter; but I have only a certain number of days to divide among the whole of the beings to whom I have granted life. I can only give to thee by taking away from others; for imagine not, that because I am Jupiter, I am infinite and all-powerful; I have my nature and my limits. Now I will grant thee some years more, by taking them from these six animals, of which thou art jealous, on condition that thou shalt successively assume their manner of living. Man shall first be a caterpillar, dragging himself along in his earliest infancy. Until fifteen he shall have the lightness of a butterfly; in his youth the vanity of a peacock. In manhood he must undergo the labours of a horse. Towards fifty he shall have the tricks of a fox; and in his old age be ugly and ridiculous like an ape. This, in general, is the destiny of man.

Remark further, that notwithstanding these bounties of Jupiter, the animal man has still but two or three

* See the article *AGE*.

and twenty years to live, at most. Taking mankind in general, of this a third must be taken away for sleep, during which we are in a certain sense dead; thus there remain fifteen, and from these fifteen we must take at least eight for our first infancy, which is, as it has been called, the vestibule of life. The clear product will be seven years, and of these seven years the half at least is consumed in grief of all kinds. Take three years and a half for labour, fatigue, and dissatisfaction, and we shall have none remaining. Well, poor animal, wilt thou still be proud?

Unfortunately in this fable Jupiter forgot to dress this animal as he clothed the ass, horse, peacock, and even the caterpillar. Man had only his bare skin, which, continually exposed to the sun, rain, and hail, became chapped, tanned, and spotted. The male in our continent was disfigured by spare hairs on his body, which rendered him frightful without covering him. His face was hidden by these hairs. His skin became a rough soil which bore a forest of stalks, the roots of which tended upwards, and the branches of which grew downwards. It was in this state and in this image, that this animal ventured to paint God, when in course of time he learnt the art of description.

The female being more weak, became still more disgusting and frightful in her old age; and in short, without tailors and mantua-makers, one half of mankind would never have dared to show itself to the other. Yet, before having clothes, before even knowing how to speak, some ages must have passed away,—a truth which has been proved, but which must be often repeated.

It is a little extraordinary, that we should have harassed an innocent, estimable man of our time, the good Helvetius, for having said, that if men had not hands, they could not build houses and work tapestry. Apparently, those who have condemned this proposition, have discovered a secret for cutting stones and wood, and working at the needle with their feet.

I liked the author of the work "On Mind." This man was worth more than all his enemies together; but I

never approved either the errors of his book, or the trivial truths which he so emphatically enforced. I have however boldly taken his part when absurd men have condemned him for these same truths.

I have no terms to express the excess of my contempt for those who for example sake would magisterially proscribe this passage,—“The Turks can only be considered deists.” How then, pedant! would you have them regarded as atheists, because they adore only one God!

You condemn this other proposition,—“The man of sense knows that men are what they must be; that all hatred against them is unjust; that a fool commits fooleries as a wild stock bears bitter fruits.”

So, crabbed stocks of the schools, you persecute a man because he hates you not!

Let us however leave the schools and pursue our subject.

Reason, industrious hands, a head capable of generalising ideas, a language pliant enough to express them,—these are great benefits granted by the Supreme Being to man, to the exclusion of other animals.

The male in general lives rather a shorter time than the female.

He is also generally larger in proportion. A man of the loftiest stature is commonly two or three inches higher than the tallest woman.

His strength is almost always superior: he is more active; and having all his organs stronger, he is more capable of a fixed attention. All arts have been invented by him, and not by woman. We should remark, that it is not the fire of imagination, but persevering meditation and combination of ideas which have invented arts, as mechanics, gunpowder, printing, dialling, &c.

Mankind alone knows that it must die, and knows it only by experience. A child brought up alone, and transported into a desert island, would dream of death no more than a plant or a cat.

A singular man* has written, that the human body is a fruit, which is green until old age, and that the moment of death is that of maturity. A strange maturity, ashes and putrefaction! The head of this philosopher was not ripe. How many extravagances has the rage for telling novelties produced?

The principal occupations of our race are the provision of food, lodging, and clothing;† all the rest are nearly accessory, and it is this poor accessory which has produced so many ravages and murders.

Different Races of Men.

We have elsewhere seen how many different races of men this globe contains, and to what degrees the first negro and the first white who met, were astonished at one another.

It is likely enough, that several weakly species of men and animals have perished. It is thus that we no longer discover any of the murex, of which the species has probably been devoured by other animals who several ages after visited the shores inhabited by this little shell-fish.

St. Jerome, in his History of the Father of the Desert, speaks of a centaur who had a conversation with St. Anthony the Hermit. He afterwards gives an account of a much longer discourse that the same Anthony had with a satyr.

St. Augustin, in his thirty-third sermon, addressed "To his Brothers in the Desert," tells things as extraordinary as Jerome. "I was already bishop of Hippo when I went into Ethiopia with some servants of Christ, there to preach the gospel. In this country we saw many men and women without heads, who had two great eyes in their breasts. In countries still more southerly, we saw a people who had but one eye in their foreheads," &c.

Apparently, Augustin and Jerome then spoke 'with economy;' they augmented the works of creation, to raise greater admiration of the works of God. They

* Maupertuis.

† The unpoetical requisites.—T.

sought to astonish men by fables, to render them more submissive to the yoke of faith.*

We can be very good christians without believing in centaurs, men without heads or with only one eye, one leg, &c. But can we doubt that the interior structure of a negro may be different to that of a white, since the mucous netted membrane beneath the skin is white in the one, and black in the other? I have already told you so, but you are deaf.

The Albinois and Darrians—the first originally of Africa, and the second of the middle of America—are as different from us as from the negroes. There are yellow, red, and grey races. We have already seen, that all the Americans are without beards or hair on their bodies, except the head and eyebrows. All are equally men, but only as a fir, an oak, and a pear tree are equally trees; the pear tree comes not from the fir, nor the fir from the oak.

But whence comes it, that in the midst of the Pacific Ocean, in an island named Otaheite, the men are bearded? It is to ask why we are so, whilst the Peruvians, Mexicans, and Canadians are not. It is to ask, why apes have tails, and why nature has refused us an ornament which, at least among us, is an extreme rarity.

The inclinations and characters of men differ as much as their climates and governments. It has never been possible to compose a regiment of Laplanders and Samoyeds, whilst the Siberians, their neighbours, become intrepid soldiers.

Neither can you make good grenadiers of a poor Darian or an Albinois. It is not because they have partridge eyes, or that their hair and eyebrows are like the finest and whitest silk; but it is because their bodies, and consequently their courage, partake of the most extreme weakness. There is none but a blind man, and even an obstinate blind man, who can deny the existence of all these different species. It is as great and remarkable as that of apes.

* See the article *ECONOMY*.

That all Races of Men have constantly lived in Society.

All the men whom we have discovered in the most uncultivated and frightful countries, herd together like beavers, ants, bees, and several other species of animals.

We have never seen countries in which they lived separate; or in which the male only joined with the female by chance, and abandoned her the moment after in disgust; or in which the mother estranged herself from her children, after having brought them up; or in which human beings lived without family and society. Some poor jesters have abused their understandings so far, as to hazard the astonishing paradox, that man is originally created to live alone, and that it is society which has depraved his nature. They might as well say, that herrings were created to swim alone in the sea; and that it is by an excess of corruption, that they pass in a troop from the Frozen Ocean to our shores; that formerly cranes flew in the air singly, and that by a violation of their natural instinct, they have subsequently chosen to travel in company.

Every animal has its instinct, and the instinct of man, fortified by reason, disposes him towards society, as towards eating and drinking. So far from the want of society having degraded man, it is estrangement from society which degrades him. Whoever lived absolutely alone, would soon lose the faculty of thinking and expressing himself; he would be a burden to himself, and it would only remain to metamorphose him into a beast. An excess of powerless pride, which rises up against the pride of others, may induce a melancholy man to fly from his fellows; but it is a species of depravity, and punishes itself. That pride is its own punishment, which frets itself into solitude and secretly resents being despised and forgotten. It is enduring the most horrible slavery, in order to be free.

We have enlarged the bounds of ordinary folly so far as to say, that it is not natural for a man to be

attached to a woman during the nine months of her pregnancy. The appetite is satisfied, says the author of these paradoxes; the man has no longer any want of woman, nor the woman of man; and the latter need not have the least care, nor perhaps the least idea of the effects of the transient intercourse. They go different ways, and there is no appearance, until the end of nine months, that they have ever been known to one another. Why should he help her after her delivery? Why assist to bring up a child whom he cannot instinctively know belongs to him alone?

All this is execrable; but happily nothing is more false. If this barbarous indifference was the true instinct of nature, mankind would always have acted thus. Instinct is unchangeable, its inconstancies are very rare; the father would always abandon the mother, and the mother would abandon her child. There would have been much fewer men on earth than voracious animals; for the wild beasts, better provided and better armed, have a more prompt instinct, more sure means of living, and a more certain nourishment, than mankind.

Our nature is very different from the frightful romance which this man, possessed of the devil, has made of it. Except some barbarous souls entirely brutish, or perhaps a philosopher more brutal still, the roughest man, by a prevailing instinct, loves the child which is not yet born, the womb which bears it; and the mother redoubles her love for him from whom she has received the germ of a being similar to himself.

The instinct of the colliers of the Black Forest speaks to them as loudly, and animates them as strongly in favour of their children, as the instinct of pigeons and nightingales induces them to feed their little ones. Time has therefore been sadly lost in writing these abominable absurdities.

The great fault of all these paradoxical books, lies in always supposing nature very different from what it is. If the satires on man and woman written by Boileau were not pleasantries, they would sin in the

essential point of supposing all men fools and all women coquettes.

The same author, an enemy to society, like the fox without a tail who would have his companions cut off theirs, thus in a magisterial style expresses himself:—

“The first who, having enclosed an estate, took upon himself to say—This is mine—and found people simple enough to believe him, was the true founder of society. What crimes, wars, murders, miseries, and horrors, might have been spared to mankind, if some one, seizing the stakes, or filling up the pit, had cried to his companions—Take care how you listen to this impostor; you are lost if you forget that the fruits are common to all, and that the earth belongs to nobody!”

Thus, according to this fine philosopher, a thief, a destroyer, would have been the benefactor of mankind, and we should punish an honest man who says to his children, “Let us imitate our neighbour; he has enclosed his field, the beasts will no longer ravage it, his land will become more fertile; let us work ours as he has laboured his; it will aid us, and we shall improve it. Each family cultivating its own enclosure, we shall be better fed, more healthy, more peaceable, and less unhappy. We will endeavour to establish a distributive justice, which will console our unhappy race; and we shall be raised above the foxes and polecats, to whom this babbler would compare us.”

Would not this discourse be more sensible and honest, than that of the savage fool who would destroy the good man’s orchard?

What philosophy therefore is that which says things that common sense disclaims from China to Canada? Is it not that of a beggar, who would have all the rich robbed by the poor, in order that fraternal union might be better established among men?

It is true, that if all the hedges, forests, and plains, were covered with wholesome and delicious fruits, it would be impossible, unjust, and ridiculous, to guard them.

If there are any islands in which nature produces

food and all necessities without trouble, let us go and live there, far from the trash of our laws; but as soon as you have peopled them, we must return to meum and tuum, and to laws which are very often very bad, but which we cannot rationally do away.

Is Man born Wicked?

Is it not demonstrated, that man is *not* born perverse and the child of the devil? If such was his nature, he would commit enormous crimes and barbarities as soon as he could walk; he would use the first knife he could find, to wound whoever displeased him. He would necessarily resemble little wolves and foxes, who bite as soon as they can.

On the contrary, throughout the world, he partakes of the nature of the lamb, while he is an infant. Why therefore, and how is it, that he so often becomes a wolf and fox? Is it not that, being born neither good nor wicked, education, example, the government into which he is thrown—in short, occasion of every kind—determines him to virtue or vice?

Perhaps human nature could not be otherwise. Man could not always have false thoughts, nor always true affections; be always sweet, or always cruel.

It is demonstrable, that woman is elevated beyond men in the scale of goodness. We see a hundred brothers enemies to each other, to one Clytemnestra.

There are professions which necessarily render the soul pitiless—that of the soldier, the butcher, the officer of justice, and the jailor; and all trades which are founded on the annoyance of others.

The officer, the soldier, the jailor, for example, are only happy in making others miserable. It is true, they are necessary against malefactors, and so far useful to society; but of a thousand men of the kind, there is not one who acts from the motive of the public good, or who even reflects that it is a public good.

It is above all a curious thing to hear them speak of their prowess as they count the number of their victims; their snares to entrap them, the ills which

they have made them suffer, and the money which they have got by it.

Whoever has been able to descend to the subaltern detail of the bar—whoever has only heard lawyers reason familiarly among themselves, and applaud themselves for the miseries of their clients—must have a very poor opinion of human nature.

There are more frightful professions still, which are however canvassed for like a canonship.

There are some which change an honest man into a rogue, and which accustom him to lie in spite of himself, to deceive almost without perceiving it, to put a blind before the eyes of others, to prostrate himself by the interest and vanity of his situation, and without remorse to plunge mankind into stupid blindness.

Women, incessantly occupied with the education of their children, and shut up in their domestic cares, are excluded from all these professions, which pervert human nature and render it atrocious. They are everywhere less barbarous than men.

Physics join with morals to prevent them from great crimes; their blood is milder; they are less addicted to strong liquors, which inspire ferocity. An evident proof is, that of a thousand victims of justice in a thousand executed assassins, we scarcely reckon four women.* It is also proved elsewhere, I believe, that in Asia there not two examples of women condemned to a public punishment.†

It appears, therefore, that our customs and habits have rendered the male species very wicked.

If this truth was general and without exceptions, the species would be more horrible than spiders, wolves, and polecats, are to our eyes. But happily, professions which harden the heart and fill it with odious passions, are very rare. Observe, that in a nation of twenty millions, there are at most two hundred thousand soldiers. This is but one soldier to two hundred individuals. These two hundred thousand soldiers are

* See the article WOMAN.

† Is not this because they are despatched privately?

“Here lies the sack, and yonder rolls the sea.”—*Corsair*.

T.

held in the most severe discipline, and there are among them very honest people, who return to their villages and finish their old age as good fathers and husbands.

The number of other trades which are dangerous to manners, is but small.

Labourers, artisans, and artists, are too much occupied often to deliver themselves up to crime.

The earth will always bear detestable wretches, and books will always exaggerate the number, which, rather than being greater, is less than we say.

If mankind had been under the empire of the devil, there would be no longer any person upon earth.

Let us console ourselves: we have seen, and we shall always see, fine minds from Pekin to la Rochelle; and whatever licentiates and bachelors may say, the Tituses, Trajans, Antoninuses, and Peter Bayles, were very honest men.

Of Man in the State of pure Nature.

What man would be in the state which we call that of pure nature? An animal much below the first Iroquois whom we found in the north of America.

He would be very inferior to these Iroquois, since they knew how to light fires and make arrows. He would require ages to arrive at these two arts.

Man, abandoned to pure nature, would have, for his language, only a few inarticulate sounds; the species would be reduced to a very small number, from the difficulty of getting nourishment and the want of help, at least in our harsh climates. He would have no more knowledge of God and the soul, than of mathematics; these ideas would be lost in the care of procuring food. The race of beavers would be infinitely preferable.

Man would then be only precisely like a robust child; and we have seen many men who are not much above that state, as it is.

The Laplanders, the Samoyeds, the inhabitants of Kamtschatka, the Caffres, and Hottentots, are—with respect to man in a state of pure nature—that which the courts of Cyrus and Semiramis were in comparison

with the inhabitants of the Cevennes. Yet the inhabitants of Kamtschatka and the Hottentots of our days, so superior to men entirely savage, are animals who live six months of the year in caverns, where they eat the vermin by which they are eaten.

In general, mankind is not above two or three degrees more civilised than the Kamschatkans. The multitude of brute beasts called men, compared with the little number of those who think, is at least in the proportion of an hundred to one in many nations.

It is pleasant to contemplate on one side, father Malebranche, who treats familiarly of 'the Word;' and on the other, these millions of animals similar to him, who have never heard speak of 'the Word,' and who have not one metaphysical idea.

Between men of pure instinct, and men of genius, floats this immense number occupied solely with subsisting.

This subsistence costs us so much pains, that in the north of America an image of God often runs five or six leagues to get a dinner; whilst among us the image of God bedews the ground with the sweat of his brow, in order to procure bread.

Add to this bread—or the equivalent—a hut, and a poor dress, and you will have man such as he is in general, from one end of the universe to the other: and it is only in a multitude of ages that he has been able to arrive at this high degree of attainment.

Finally, after other ages, things got to the point at which we see them. Here we represent a tragedy in music; there we kill one another on the high seas of another hemisphere, with a thousand pieces of cannon. The opera, and a ship of war of the first rank, always astonish my imagination. I doubt whether they can be carried much farther in any of the globes with which the heavens are studded. More than half the habitable world however is still peopled with two-footed animals, who live in the horrible state approaching to pure nature, existing and clothing themselves with difficulty, scarcely enjoying the gift of

speech, scarcely perceiving that they are unfortunate, and living and dying almost without knowing it.

Examination of a Thought of Pascal on Man.

"I can conceive a man without hands or feet, and I could even conceive him without a head, if experience taught me not, that it is with the head he thinks. It is therefore thought which makes the being of man, without which we cannot conceive him."—(Thoughts of Pascal).

How! conceive a man without feet, hands, and head? This would be as different a thing from a man as a gourd.

If all men were without heads, how could yours conceive that there are animals like yourself? Since they would have nothing of what principally constitutes your being. A head is something: the five senses are contained in it, and thought also. An animal, which from the nape of its neck downwards might resemble a man, or one of those apes which we call ourang-outang or the man of the woods, would no more be a man than an ape or a bear whose heads and tails were cut off.

"It is therefore thought which makes the being of a man," &c. In this case, thought would be his essence, as extent and solidity are the essence of matter. Man would think essentially and always, as matter is always extended and solid. He would think in a profound sleep without dreams, in a fit, in a lethargy, in the womb of his mother. I well know that I never thought in any of these states; I confess it often; and I doubt not that others are like myself.

If thought was essential to man, as extent is to matter, it would follow, that God cannot deprive this animal of understanding, since he cannot deprive matter of extent—for then it would be no longer matter. Now, if understanding be essential to man, he is a thinking being by nature, as God is God by nature.

If desirous to define God, as such poor beings as ourselves can define him, I should say, that thought is his being, his essence; but as to man——!

We have the faculties of thinking, walking, talking, eating, and sleeping; but we do not always use these faculties, it is not in our nature.

Thought, with us, is it not an attribute? and so much an attribute that it is sometimes weak, sometimes strong, sometimes reasonable, and sometimes extravagant? It hides itself, shows itself, flies, returns, is nothing, is re-produced. Essence is quite another thing; it never varies; it knows nothing of more or less.

What therefore would be the animal supposed by Pascal? A being of reason. He might just as well have supposed a tree to which God might have given thought, as it is said that the gods granted voices to the trees of Dodona.

Operation of God on Man.

People who have founded systems on the communication of God with man, have said, that God acts directly physically on man in certain cases only, when God grants certain particular gifts; and they have called this action 'physical premotion.' Diocles and Erophiles, those two great enthusiasts, maintain this opinion, and have partisans.

Now we recognise a God quite as well as these people, because we cannot conceive that any one of the beings which surround us could be produced of itself. By the fact alone that something exists, the necessary Eternal Being must be necessarily the cause of all. With these reasoners, we admit the possibility of God making himself understood to some favourites; but we go farther,—we believe that he makes himself understood by all men, in all places, and in all times, since to all he gives life, motion, digestion, thought, and instinct.

Is there in the vilest of animals, and in the most sublime philosophers, a being who can will motion, digestion, desire, love, instinct, or thought? No; but we act, we love, we have instincts; as for example, an invincible liking to certain objects, an insupportable aversion to others, a promptitude to execute the

movements necessary to our preservation, as those of sucking the breasts of our nurses, swimming when we are strong and our bosoms large enough, biting our bread, drinking, stooping to avoid a blow from a stone, collecting our force to clear a ditch, &c. We accomplish a thousand such actions without thinking of them, though they are all profoundly mathematical. In short, we think and feel without knowing how.

In good earnest, is it more difficult for God to work all within us by means of which we are ignorant, than to stir us internally sometimes, by the efficacious grace of Jupiter, of which these gentlemen talk to us unceasingly?

Where is the man who, when he looks into himself, perceives not that he is a puppet of Providence? I think—but can I give myself a thought? Alas! if I thought of myself, I should know what ideas I might entertain the next moment—a thing which nobody knows.

I acquire a knowledge, but I could not give it to myself. My intelligence cannot be the cause of it; for the cause must contain the effect. Now, my first acquired knowledge was not in my understanding; being the first, it was given to me by him who formed me, and who gives all, whatever it may be.

I am astonished, when I am told that my first knowledge cannot alone give me a second; for that it must contain it.

The proof that we give ourselves no ideas is, that we receive them in our dreams; and certainly it is neither our will nor attention which makes us think in dreams. There are poets who make verses sleeping; geometers who measure triangles. All proves to us, that there is a power which acts within us without consulting us.

All our sentiments, are they not involuntary? Hearing, taste, and sight, are nothing by themselves. We feel, in spite of ourselves: we do nothing of ourselves: we are nothing without a Supreme Power which enacts all things.

The most superstitious allow these truths, but they

apply them only to people of their own class. They affirm that God acts physically on certain privileged persons. We are more religious than they; we believe that the Great Being acts on all living things, as on all matter. Is it therefore more difficult for him to stir all men than to stir some of them? Will God be God for your little sect alone? He is equally so for me, who do not belong to it.

A new philosopher goes farther than you; it seemed to him that God alone exists. He pretends, that we are all in him; and we say, that it is God who sees and acts in all that has life. "*Jupiter est quodcumque videt; quodcumque moveris.*"

To proceed. Your physical premotion introduces God acting in you. What need have you then of a soul? Of what good is this little unknown and incomprehensible being? Do you give a soul to the sun, which enlightens so many globes? And if this star so great, so astonishing, and so necessary, has no soul, why should man have one? God who made us, does he not suffice for us? What therefore is become of the axiom? Effect not that by many, which can be accomplished by one.

This soul, which you have imagined to be a substance, is therefore really only a faculty, granted by the Great Being, and not a person. It is a property given to our organs, and not a substance. Man, his reason uncorrupted by metaphysics, could never imagine that he was double; that he was composed of two beings, the one mortal, visible, and palpable—the other immortal, invisible and insensible. Would it not require ages of controversy to arrive at this expedient of joining together two substances so dissimilar; tangible, and intangible, simple and compound, invulnerable and suffering, eternal and fleeting?

Men have only supposed a soul by the same error which made them suppose in us a being called memory, which being they afterwards made a divinity.

They made this memory the mother of the Muses; they embodied the divers talents of nature in so many goddesses, the daughters of memory. They also made

a god of the secret power by which nature forms the blood of animals, and called it the god of sanguification. The Roman people indeed had similar gods for the faculties of eating and drinking, for the act of marriage, for the act of voiding excrements. They were so many particular souls, which produced in us all these actions. It was the metaphysics of the populace. This shameful and ridiculous superstition was evidently derived from that which imagined in man a small divine substance, different from man himself.

This substance is still admitted in all the schools; and with condescension we grant to the Great Being, to the Eternal Maker, to God, the permission of joining his concurrence to the soul. Thus we suppose, that for will and deed, both God and our souls are necessary.

But to concur signifies to aid, to participate. God therefore is only second with us; it is degrading him; it is putting him on a level with us, or making him play the most inferior part. Take not from him his rank and pre-eminence: make not of the sovereign of nature the mere servant of mankind.

Two species of reasoners, well credited in the world, —atheists and theologians—will oppose our doubts.

The atheists will say, that in admitting reason in man and instinct in brutes, as properties, it is very useless to admit a God into this system; that God is still more incomprehensible than a soul; that it is unworthy a sage to believe that which he conceives not. They let fly against us all the arguments of Straton and Lucretius. We will answer them by one word only—You exist; therefore there is a God.

Theologians will give us more trouble. They will first tell us,—We agree with you that God is the first cause of all; but he is not the only one. An high priest of Minerva says expressly—"The second agent operates by virtue of the first; the first induces a second; the second involves a third; all are acting by virtue of God; and he is the cause of all actions acting."

We will answer, with all the respect we owe to this high priest,—There is, and there can only exist, one

true cause. All the others, which are subsequent, are but instruments. I discover a spring—I make use of it to move a machine; I discovered the spring and made the machine. I am the sole cause. That is undoubted.

The high priest will reply,—You take liberty away from men. I reply,—No; liberty consists in the faculty of willing, and in that of doing what you will, when nothing prevents you. God has made man upon these conditions, and he must be contented with them.

My priest will persist, and say, that we make God the author of sin. Then we shall answer him—I am sorry for it; but God is made the author of sin in all systems, except in that of the atheists. For if he concurs with the actions of perverse men, as with those of the just, it is evident that to concur is to do, since he who concurs is the creator of all.

If God alone permits sin, it is he who commits it; since to permit and to do is the same thing to the absolute master of all. If he foresees that men will do evil, he should not form men. We have never eluded the force of these ancient arguments; we have never weakened them. Whoever has produced all, has certainly produced good and evil. The system of absolute predestination, the doctrine of concurrence, equally plunge us into this labyrinth, from which we cannot extricate ourselves.

All that we can say is, that evil is for us, and not for God. Nero assassinates his preceptor, and his mother; another murders his relations and neighbours; a high priest poisons, strangles, and beheads twenty Roman lords, on rising from the bed of his daughter. This is of no more importance to the Being, the Universal Soul of the World, than sheep eaten by wolves or by us, or than flies devoured by spiders. There is no evil for the Great Being; to him it is only the play of the great machine which incessantly moves by eternal laws. If the wicked become (whether during their lives or subsequently) more unhappy than those whom they have sacrificed to their passions—if they suffer as they have made others suffer—it is still an inevitable consequence of the immutable laws by which

the Great Being necessarily acts. We know but a very small part of these laws; we have but a very weak portion of understanding; we have only resignation in our power. Of all systems, is not that which makes us acquainted with our insignificance, the most reasonable? Men (as all philosophers of antiquity have said) made God in their own image; which is the reason why the first Anaxagoras, as ancient as Orpheus, expresses himself thus in his verses:—"If the birds figured to themselves a God, he would have wings; that of horses would run with four legs."

The vulgar imagine God to be a king, who holds his seat of justice in his court, Tender hearts represent him as a father who takes care of his children. The sage attributes to him no human affection. He acknowledges a necessary eternal power which animates all nature, and resigns himself to it.

General Reflection on Man.

It requires twenty years to raise man from the state of a plant, in which he abides in his mother's womb, and from the pure animal state, which is the lot of his earliest infancy, to that in which the maturity of reason begins to dawn. He has required thirty ages to become a little acquainted with his own bodily structure. He would require eternity to become acquainted with his soul. He requires but an instant to kill himself.

MARRIAGE.

SECTION I.

I ONCE met with a reasoner who said,—Induce your subjects to marry as early as possible. Let them be exempt from taxes the first year; and let their portion be assessed on those who at the same age are in a state of celibacy.

The more married men you have, the fewer crimes there will be. Examine the frightful columns of your criminal calendars; you will there find a hundred youths executed for one father of a family.

Marriage renders men more virtuous and more wise. The father of a family is not willing to blush before his children: he is afraid to make shame their inheritance.

Let your soldiers marry, and they will no longer desert. Bound to their families, they will be bound to their country. An unmarried soldier is frequently nothing but a vagabond, to whom it matters not whether he serves the king of Naples or the king of Morocco.

The Roman warriors were married: they fought for their wives and their children; and they made slaves of the wives and the children of other nations.

A great Italian politician, who was besides very learned in the Eastern tongues, a thing very rare among our politicians, said to me in my youth,—“Caro figlio, remember that the Jews never had but one good institution—that of abhorring virginity. If that little nation of superstitious jobbers had not regarded marriage as the first of human obligations—if there had been among them convents of nuns—they would have been inevitably lost.”

The Marriage Contract.

Marriage is a contract in the law of nations, of which the Roman catholics have made a sacrament.

But the sacrament and the contract are two very different things; with the one are connected the civil effects, with the other the graces of the church.

So when the contract is conformable to the law of nations, it must produce every civil effect. The absence of the sacrament can operate only in the privation of spiritual graces.

Such has been the jurisprudence of all ages, and of all nations, excepting the French. Such was the opinion of the most accredited fathers of the church.

Go through the Theodosian and Justinian codes, and you will find no law proscribing the marriages of persons of another creed, not even when contracted between them and catholics.

It is true, that Constantius—that son of Constantine as cruel as his father—forbade the Jews, on pain of

death, to marry christian women;* and that Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius, made the same prohibition, under the like penalty, to the Jewish women. But under the emperor Marcian, these laws had ceased to be observed; and Justinian rejected them from his code. Besides, they were made against the Jews only; no one ever thought of applying them to the marriage of pagans or heretics with the followers of the prevailing religion.

Consult St. Augustin, and he will tell you, that in his time the marriages of believers with unbelievers were not considered illicit, because no gospel text had condemned them—"Quæ matrimonia cum in fidelibus, nostris temporibus, jam non putantur esse peccata; quoniam in Novo Testamento nihil inde preceptum est, et ideo aut licere creditum est, aut velut dubium derelictum."†

Augustin says moreover, that these marriages often work the conversion of the unbelieving party. He cites the example of his own father, who embraced the christian religion because his wife Manica professed christianity. Clotilda, by the conversion of Clovis, and Theodelinda, by that of Agilulf, king of the Lombards, rendered greater service to the church than if they had married orthodox princes.

Consult the declaration of pope Benedict XIV. of November 4, 1741; you will find in it these words:—"Quod verò spectat ad ea conjugia quæ, absque formâ à Tridentino statutâ, contrahuntur à catholicis cum hæreticis, sive catholicus vir hæreticam fœminam ducat, sive catholica fœmina heretico viro nubat; si hujusmodi matrimonium sit contractum aut in posterum contracti contingat, Tridentini formâ non servatâ, declarat Sanctitas sua, alio non concurrente impedimento, validum habendum esse, sciens conjux catholicus se istius matrimonii vinculo perpetuo ligatum."—"With respect to such marriages as, transgressing the enactment of the council of Trent, are

* Theodosian Code, De Judais, law vi.

† Lib. de Fide et Operib. cap. ix, no. 35.

contracted by catholics with heretics; whether by a catholic man with an heretical woman, or by a catholic woman with an heretical man—if such matrimony already is, or hereafter shall be contracted, the rules of the council not being observed, his holiness declares, that if there be no other impediment, it shall be held valid, the catholic man or woman understanding, that he or she is by such matrimony bound until death.”

By what astonishing contradiction is it, that the French laws in this matter are more severe than those of the church? The first law by which this severity was established in France was the edict of Louis XIV. of November 1680, which deserves to be repeated.

“ Louis, &c. The canons of the councils having forbidden marriages of catholics with heretics, as a public scandal and a profanation of the sacrament, we have deemed it the more necessary to prevent them for the future, as we have found that the toleration of such marriages exposes catholics to the continual temptation of perverting it, &c. For these causes, &c. it is our will and pleasure, that in future our subjects of the Roman catholic and apostolic religion may not, under any pretext whatsoever, contract marriage with those of the pretended reformed religion, declaring such marriages to be invalid, and the issue of them illegitimate.”

It is singular enough, that the laws of the church should have been made the foundation for annulling marriages which the church never annulled. In this edict we find the sacrament confounded with the civil contract; and from this confusion have proceeded the strange laws in France concerning marriage.

St. Augustin approved marriages of the orthodox with heretics, for he hoped that the faithful spouse would convert the other; and Louis XIV. condemns them, lest the heterodox should pervert the believer.

In Franche-Comté there exists a yet more cruel law. This is an edict of the archduke Albert and his wife Isabella, of December 20, 1599, which forbids catholics

to marry heretics, on pain of confiscation of body and goods.*

The same edict pronounces the same penalty on such as shall be convicted of eating mutton on Friday or Saturday. What laws! and what lawgivers!

"A. quels maîtres, grand Dieu, livrez-vous l'univers!"

SECTION II.

If our laws reprove marriages of catholics with persons of a different religion, do they grant the civil effects at least to marriages of French protestants with French persons of the same sect?

There are now in the kingdom a million of protestants; yet the validity of their marriage is still a question in the tribunals.

Here again is one of those cases in which our jurisprudence is contradictory to the decisions of the church, and also to itself.

In the papal declaration, quoted in the foregoing section, Benedict XIV. decides that marriages of protestants, contracted according to their rights, are no less valid than if they had been performed according to the forms established by the council of Trent; and that a husband who turns catholic cannot break this tie and form a new one with a person of his new religion.†

Barak Levi, by birth a Jew, and a native of Hagenan, had there married Mendel Cerf, of the same town and the same religion.

This Jew came to Paris in 1752; and on the 13th of May, 1754, he was baptised. He sent a summons to his wife at Hagenan to come and join him at Paris. In a second summons he consented that this wife, when

* *Anciennes Ordonnances de la Franche-Comté*, liv. v. tit. 18.

† *Quod attinet ad matrimonia ab hæreticis inter se celebrata, non observatâ formâ à Tridentino præscriptâ quæque in posterum contrahentur, dummodò non aliud obstiterit canonicum impedimentum, Sanctitas sua statuit pro validis habenda esse; adeoque si contingat utrumque conjugum ad Catholicam Ecclesiam sinum recipere, eodem quo antea conjugali vinculo ipsos omnino teneri, etiam si mutuus consensus coram parochio Catholico non requiratur.*

she had come to join him, should continue to live in her own Jewish sect.

To these summonses Mendel Cerf replied, that she would not return with him, and that she required him to send her, according to the Jewish forms, a bill of divorce, in order that she might marry another Jew.

Levi was not satisfied with this answer: he sent no bill of divorce; but he caused his wife to appear before the official of Strasburg, who, by a sentence of September 7, 1754, declared that, in the sight of the church, he was at liberty to marry a catholic woman.

Furnished with this sentence, the christianised Jew came into the diocese of Soissons, and there made promise of marriage to a young woman of Villeneuve. The clergyman refused to publish the banns. Levi communicated to him the summonses he had sent to his wife, the sentence of the official of Strasburg, and a certificate from the secretary to the bishopric of that place, attesting, that in that diocese baptised Jews had at all times been permitted to contract new marriages with catholics, and that this usage had constantly been recognised by the supreme council of Colmar.

But these documents appeared to the parson of Villeneuve to be insufficient. Levi was obliged to summon him before the official of Soissons.

This official did not think, like him of Strasburg, that the marriage of Levi with Mendel Cerf was null or dissoluble. By his sentence of the 5th of February, 1756, he declared the Jew's claim to be inadmissible. The latter appealed from this sentence to the parliament of Paris, where he was not only opposed by the public ministry, but, by a decree of January 2, 1758, the sentence was confirmed, and Levi was again forbidden to contract any marriage during the life of Mendel Cerf.

Here then a marriage contracted between French Jews, according to the Jewish rites, was declared valid by the first court in the kingdom.

But, some years afterwards, the same question was decided differently in another parliament, on the subject of a marriage contracted between two French

protestants, who had been married in the presence of their parents by a minister of their own communion. The protestant spouse had, like the Jew, changed his religion; and after he had concluded a second marriage with a catholic, the parliament of Grenoble confirmed this second marriage, and declared the first to be null.

If we pass from jurisprudence to legislation, we shall find it as obscure on this important matter, as on so many others.

A decree of the council, of September 15, 1685, says, "that protestants* may marry, provided however that it be in the presence of the principal officer of justice, and that the publications preceding such marriages shall be made at the royal see nearest the place of abode of each of the protestants desirous of marrying, and at the audience only."

This decree was not revoked by the edict which, three weeks after, suppressed the edict of Nantes. But after the declaration of the 14th of May, 1724, drawn up by cardinal Fleury, the judges would no longer preside over the marriages of protestants, nor permit their banns to be published in their audiences.

By article XV. of this law, the forms prescribed by the canons are to be observed in marriages, as well of new converts as of all the rest of the king's subjects.

This general expression, 'all the rest of the king's subjects,' has been thought to comprehend the protestants, as well as the catholics, and on this interpretation, such marriages of protestants as were not solemnised according to the canonical forms have been annulled.†

Nevertheless, it seems that the marriages of protestants having been authorised by an express law, they

* Is it not odd, that in France the council itself should have given to the protestants the name of *religionists*, as if they alone had any religion, and the rest of the nation were only papists, governed by decrees and bulls?

† The whole of this war against common sense will remind the reader of the Unitarian marriage controversy of the present day, and of some extraordinary parliamentary argument on the subject, almost as rational and consistent as the proceedings of the French tribunals.—T.

cannot now be admitted but by another express law carrying with it this penalty. Besides, the term 'new converts,' mentioned in the declaration, appears to indicate that the term that follows relates to the catholics only. In short, when the civil law is obscure or ambiguous, ought not the judges to decide according to the natural and the moral law?

Does it not result from all this that laws often have need of reformation, and princes of consulting better informed counsellors; rejecting priestly ministers, and distrusting courtiers in the garb of confessors?

MARY MAGDALEN.

I MUST own, that I know not where the author of the "Critical History of Jesus Christ" found, that "St. Mary Magdalen had a criminal intimacy (*des complaisances criminelles*) with the Saviour of the world."* He says (page 130, line 11 of the note) that this is an assertion of the Albigenses. I have never read this horrible blasphemy either in the history of the Albigenses, or in their profession of faith. It is one of the great many things of which I am ignorant. I know that the Albigenses had the dire misfortune of not being Roman catholics; but otherwise, it seems to me, they had the most profound reverence for the person of Jesus.

This author of the Critical History of Jesus Christ refers us to the *Christiade*, a sort of poem in prose (granting that there are such things as poems in prose); I have therefore been obliged to consult the passage of the *Christiade* in which this accusation is made. It is in the fourth book or canto, p. 335, note 1; the poet of the *Christiade* cites no authority. In an epic poem, indeed, citations may be spared; but great authorities are requisite in prose, when so grave an assertion is made—one which makes every christian's hair stand erect.

Whether the Albigenses advanced this impiety or

* *Histoire Critique de Jesus Christ, ou Analyse Raisonnée des Evangiles*, p. 130, note 3.

not, the only result is, that the author of the *Christiade* sports on the brink of criminality. He somewhat imitates the famous sermon of Menot. He introduces to us Mary Magdalen, the sister of Martha and Lazarus, brilliant with all the charms of youth and beauty, burning with every desire, and immersed in every voluptuousness. According to him, she is a lady at court, exalted in birth and in riches; her brother Lazarus was count of Bethany, and herself marchioness of Magdalet. Martha had a splendid portion, but he does not tell us where her estates lay. "She had," says the man of the *Christiade*, "a hundred servants, and a crowd of lovers; she might have threatened the liberty of the whole world. But riches, dignities, ambitious grandeur, never were so dear to Magdalen as the seductive error which caused her to be named the sinner. Such was the sovereign beauty of the capital when the young and divine hero arrived there from the extremities of Galilee.* Her other passions yielded to the ambition of subduing the hero of whom she had heard."

The author of the *Christiade* then imitates Virgil. The marchioness of Magdalet conjures her portioned sister to further her coquetish designs upon her young hero, as Dido employed her sister Anna to gain the pious *Æneas*.

She goes to hear Christ's sermon in the temple, although he never preached there. "Her heart flies before her to the hero she adores: she awaits but one favourable look to triumph over him, to subdue this master of hearts and make him her captive."

She then goes to him at the house of Simon the leper, a very rich man, who was giving him a grand supper, although the women were never admitted at these feastings, especially among the Pharisees. She pours a large pot of perfumes upon his legs, wipes them with her beautiful fair hair, and kisses them.

I shall not enquire whether the picture which the

* No great distance.

author draws of Magdalen's holy transports is not more worldly than devout; whether the kisses given are not expressed rather too warmly; nor whether this fine fair hair with which she wipes her hero's legs, does not remind one too strongly of Trimalcion, who, at dinner, wiped his hands with the hair of a young and beautiful slave. He must himself have felt that his pictures might be fancied too glowing; for he anticipates criticism by giving some pieces from a sermon of Massillon's on Magdalen. One passage is as follows:—

“Magdalen had sacrificed her reputation to the world. Her bashfulness and her birth at first defended her against the emotions of her passion; and it is most likely, that to the first shafts which assailed her she opposed the barrier of her modesty and her pride; but when she had lent her ear to the serpent, and consulted her own wisdom, her heart was open to all the assaults of passion. Magdalen loved the world, and thenceforward all was sacrificed to this love; neither the pride that springs from birth, nor the modesty which is the ornament of her sex; is spared in this sacrifice; nothing can withhold her; neither the railleries of worldlings, nor the infidelities of her infatuated lovers, whom she fain would please, but by whom she cannot make herself esteemed—for virtue only is estimable; nothing can make her ashamed; and like the prostitute in the Apocalypse, she bears on her forehead the name of mystery; that is, she was veiled, and was no longer known but in the character of the foolish passion.”*

I have sought this passage in Massillon's sermons, but it certainly is not in the edition which I possess. I will venture to say more—it is not in his style.

The author of the *Christiade* should have informed us where he picked up this rhapsody of Massillon's, as he should have told us where he read, that the Albigenses dared to impute to Jesus Christ an unworthy intercourse with Mary Magdalen.

As for the marchioness, she is not again mentioned in the work. The author spares us her voyage to

* Tom. ii. p. 321, note 1.

Marseilles with Lazarus, and the rest of her adventures.

What could induce a man of learning, and sometimes of eloquence, as the author of the *Christiade* appears to be, to compose this pretended poem? It was, as he tells us in his preface, the example of Milton; but we well know how deceitful are examples. Milton, who—be it observed—did not hazard that weakly monstrosity, a poem in prose—Milton who, in his *Paradise Lost*, has, amid the multitude of harsh and obscure lines of which it is full, scattered some very fine blank verse,—could not please any but fanatical whigs, as the abbé Grécourt says,—

En chantant l'univers perdu pour une pomme,
Et Dieu pour le damner créant le premier homme.

By singing
How God made man on purpose for hell-fire,
And how a stolen apple damned us all.

He might delight the presbyterians by making Sin cohabit with Death; by firing off twenty-four pounders in heaven; by making dryness fight with damp, and heat with cold; by cleaving angels in two, whose halves immediately join again; by building a bridge over chaos; by representing the Messiah taking from a chest in heaven a great pair of compasses to describe the circuit of the earth, &c. Virgil and Horace would perhaps have thought these ideas rather strange. But if they succeeded in England by the aid of some very happy lines, the author of the *Christiade* was mistaken in expecting his romance to succeed without the assistance of fine verses, which are indeed very difficult to make.

But, says our author, one Jerome Vida, bishop of Alba, once wrote a very powerful *Christiade* in Latin verse, in which he transcribed many lines from Virgil. Well, my friend, why didst thou write thine in French prose? Why didst not thou too imitate Virgil?

But the late M. d'Escorbiac, of Toulouse, also wrote a *Christiade*—Alas! Why wast thou so unfortunate as to become the ape of M. d'Escorbiac?

But Milton too wrote his romance of the New Tes-

tament, his *Paradise Regained*, in blank verse, frequently resembling the worst prose. Leave it then to Milton to set Satan and Jesus constantly at war. Let it be his to cause a drove of swine to be driven along by a legion of devils; that is, by six thousand seven hundred, who take possession of these swine (there being three devils and seven-twentieths per pig) and drown them in a lake. It well becomes Milton to make the Devil propose to God that they shall take a good supper together*. In Milton, the Devil may at his ease cover the table with ortolans, partridges, soles, sturgeons, and make Hebe and Ganymede hand wine to Jesus Christ. In Milton, the Devil may take God up a little hill, from the top of which he shows him the capital, the Molucca islands, and the Indian city; the birth-place of the beauteous Angelica who turned Orlando's brain; after which he may offer to God all this, provided that God will adore him. But even Milton laboured in vain; people have laughed at him. They have laughed at poor brother Berruyer, the jesuit. They have laughed at thee. Bear it with patience!

* "What doubt'st thou, Son of God? Sit down and eat!"
Paradise Regained, book ii.

END OF VOLUME THE FOURTH.

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